

4Q246: The “Son of God” Document from Qumran

This Qumran text (4Q246) was bought from Kando, the go-between for the Ta'amireh Bedu, on 9 July 1958. It was one of the eight “last” fragmentary texts of Cave 4, for the purchase of which money had just been brought from the U.S.A. It was entrusted to J. T. Milik, who was to prepare it for publication. In December 1972 Milik lectured on this text at Harvard University. He passed out a tentative English translation and projected the Aramaic text on a screen. In the days that followed I received two copies of the Aramaic text and the translation in the mail⁽¹⁾. As a result, the text was, in effect, in the public domain, and I published seven lines of it, having used them in a presentation at the annual meeting of “Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas” at Southampton, England in 1973⁽²⁾. Only seven lines were used, because it was expected that Milik would soon publish the whole, together with the requisite photograph. To date, he has not done so⁽³⁾. When the Huntington Library of San Marino, California announced that it would make

(1) Milik was to publish the text in *HTR*. References were eventually made to it, as news of it got abroad: A. D. NOCK, in a review of H.-J. SCHOEPS, *Paulus: Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen 1959), *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 581-590, esp. 584; A. J. B. HIGGINS, “The Old Testament and Some Aspects of New Testament Christology”, *CJT* 6 (1960) 200-210, esp. 202, n. 12; R. E. BROWN, “The Problem of the Virginal Conception of Jesus”, *TS* 33 (1972) 3-34, esp. 32, n. 86; id., *The Virginal Conception and Bodily Resurrection of Jesus* (New York 1973) 65, n. 112.

(2) “The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament”, *NTS* 20 (1973-74) 382-407, esp. 391-394; repr. in a slightly revised form in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT (1979) 85-113, esp. 92-93.

(3) He refers to the text in *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford 1976) 60, 213, 261; and in “Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân”, *RevQ* 15/3 (Mémoires Jean Starcky II, 1992) 321-399 (+ pls. I-VII), esp. 383-384, where (n. 53) he labels my publication “une édition pirate”!

available to interested scholars. copies of photographs of Qumran Cave 4 materials that it had in its possession, a copy of the text (photo PAM 43.236) was requested; it was received in due course and is reproduced herewith⁽⁴⁾. The text has now been published in full by E. Puech⁽⁵⁾. In view of recent brouhaha raised in the media about the delay in publication of the Cave 4 materials, it is important that this text has finally appeared⁽⁶⁾.

With Puech's recent publication of the full text, it can now be discussed further, since more has to be said about it. The text runs as follows:

(4) Permission was requested from the Library to publish it; and thanks are hereby expressed.

(5) "Fragment d'une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan^d) et le 'royaume de Dieu'", *RB* 99 (1992) 98-131.

(6) Reference was made in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16/2 (1990) 24 to the lines of the text published in 1973, without indication of source. The information given there came from a lecture that I delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1989. The *BAR* notice, however, was picked up by M. Baigent and R. Leigh in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (London-New York 1991) 66. They called it "a recent 'leak'", which "surfaced in 1990", and attributed it to "an unnamed scholar whose conscience was troubling him"! Even worse, Baigent and Leigh thought that this was the "document that Allegro was alluding [to] in his letter of 16 September 1956". Part of that letter, written to R. de Vaux, was cited by them (p. 56): "As for ... Jesus as a 'son of God' and 'Messiah' — I don't dispute it for a moment; we now know from Qumran that their own Davidic Messiah was reckoned a 'son of God', 'begotten' of God...". Yet how could Allegro in a letter written in 1956 have referred to a text only acquired by the Museum in July 1958? Baigent and Leigh have clearly misinterpreted the reference in the letter of Allegro, who was actually talking about 1QSa 2:11-12, which had shortly before been published by D. Barthélemy. In his first publication of 4QFlorilegium (*JBL* 75 [1956] 174-187, esp. 177) Allegro refers to this text: the "implication of 'sonship' of the Messiah has obvious NT parallels, and has, perhaps, to be connected with the מלך of 1QSa". In n. 28 he reveals that "a special infra-red photograph taken then [Summer of 1955] leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the editor's reading" of 1QSa. Hence Allegro certainly understood the mention of "the Messiah" in 1QSa as implying divine sonship, and this was the text to which he was referring. Accordingly, this unmasks one of the many major erroneous charges in the Baigent and Leigh book.

Col. 1

1 [לוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא]
 2 [לכא לעלמא אתה רמ ושניך]
 3 [בא חוור וכלא אתה עד עלמא]
 4 [ברבין עקה תתא על ארעא]
 5 [ונחשירין רב במדינתא]
 6 [מלך אתור] ומ [צריך]
 7 [רב להוה על ארעא]
 8 [עבדך וכלא ישמשך]
 9 [בא יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה]

Col. 2

1 ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליך יקרונה כזיקיא
 2 די חזותא כן מלכותה תהוה שני [] ימלכך על
 3 ארעא וכלא ידשך עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למד [ינ]ה
 4 (vacat) עד יקום עם אל וכלא ינוח מן חרב
 5 מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט ידי []
 6 ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף
 7 וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון אל רבא באילה
 8 הוא ועבד לה קרב עממין יתן בידה וכלהן
 9 ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי

Col. 1

1 [] settled [u]pon him, he fell down before the throne
 2 [] O King, forever! You are angry, and changed
 3 [] is your gaze. But [] everything forever!
 4 [g]reat. Distress shall come upon the earth;
 5 [] and great carnage in the provinces
 6 [] the king of Assyria [and E]gypt
 7 [] will be great upon the earth
 8 [] they will make and they will all serve
 9 [g]reat he shall be called, and by his name shall he be named.

Col. 2

1 He shall be hailed (as) son of God, and they shall call him son of the Most High. Like comets
 2 that one sees, so that their rule be. For (some) years they shall rule upon
 3 the earth and shall trample everything (under foot); people shall trample upon people, province upon [pro]vince,
 4 (vacat) until there arises the people of God, and everyone rests from the sword.
 5 (Then) his kingdom (shall be) an everlasting kingdom, and all his ways (shall be) in truth. He shall jud[ge]

6 the land with truth, and everyone shall make peace. The sword will cease from the land,

7 and all the provinces shall pay him homage. The great God is himself his might;

8 He shall make war for him. Peoples He shall put in his power, and all of them

9 He shall cast before him. His dominion (shall be) an everlasting dominion, and none of the abysses of [the earth shall prevail against it]!

For the physical description of the text, I refer to Puech's article⁽⁷⁾. Milik had dated the text to the last third of the first century BC, and Puech agrees (between 4QSam^a and 1QIsa^b or 1QM — hence c.25 BC). I see no reason to contest this palaeographic dating of the copy⁽⁸⁾, which clearly reveals the pre-Christian Jewish provenience of this important text. There is little difficulty in reading and interpreting col.2; the problem is the reconstruction of the ends of the lines of col.1. Puech restores the lines as follows:

- 1] ודחלה רבה(?) ע[להי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא
- 2]ואמר דניאל (לי)מ[לכא }{}{ }מ[עלמא אתה רמ ושנך
- 3]בדחלה הן אק/ש[רא חוץ וכלא אתה עד עלמא
- 4]חיי ארו(?) במלכין ר[ברבין עקה תתא על ארעא
- 5]קרב להוה בין עממין[ונחשירן רב במדינתא
- 6]יקומן מלכיא / ויקרבין(?) [מלך אתור[ומ]צרין
- 7]יקום מלך אחרן והוא [רב להוה על ארעא
- 8]עממיא/מלכיא שלם עמה י[עבדון וכלא ישמשן
- 9]לה בר מרא ר[בא יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה

i, 1 — et une grande frayeur (?)] demeura sur lui. Il tomba devant le trône ²[et Daniel(?) dit au r]oi: (ou dit: “ô r]oi,) {Pour} <Depuis> toujours tu t'irrites et tes années ³[se déroulent dans la crainte! Je vais inter]préter/ expliquer ta vision et toute chose. Toi, à jamais, ⁴[vis! Voici(?), à cause de rois puissants va venir une détresse sur la terre. ⁵[Il y aura la guerre entre les peuples] et un grand massacre dans les provinces. ⁶[Les rois se dresseront, et se liguèrent/feront la guerre], le roi d'Assyrie[et (le roi) d'E]gypte. ⁷[Se lèvera un autre/dernier roi, et lui,] il sera grand sur la terre. ⁸[Les peuples/rois] feront [la paix avec lui (?)] et tous [le] serviront. ⁹[Le fils du Gr]and [Souverain] il sera appelé, et de son nom il sera nommé⁽⁹⁾.

(7) “Fragment”, 104-106.

(8) It was not one of the fourteen texts subjected to radiocarbon dating last year in Zurich. See G. BONANI et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *’Atiqot* 20 (July 1991) 27-32; G. BONANI et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls”, *Radiocarbon* 34/3 (1992) 843-849.

(9) Ibid., 107, 109.

Several points in his reconstruction, however, may be questioned. The change in line 2 from לעלמא, "forever", to מעלמא, "depuis toujours", is gratuitous. One should interpret the text as it stands. Again, the word at the end of line 2 שניך may look like "your years", but that is not its only possible meaning. Because אל רבא occurs in 2,7, that may be a likely way to fill out 1,9. Hence, the following reconstruction of col. 1:

- 1 [וכדי דחלה רבה ע] לוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא
- 2 [אדין אמר למלכא חיי מ] לכא לעלמא אתה רגו ושניך
- 3 [זיו אנפיך ועלי] בא חוזר וכלא אתה עד עלמא
- 4 [תמלך ויהוה עבדיך ר] ברבין עקה תתא על ארעא
- 5 [ולהה קרב בעממא] ונחשירן רב במדינתא
- 6 [די יעבדן גדודי] מלך אתור ומצרין
- 7 [להוה עמהון ברם אף ברך] רב להוה על ארעא
- 8 [וכל עממא שלם עמה י] עבדן וכלא ישמשון
- 9 [לה והוא בר אל ר] בא יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה

1 [when great fear] settled [u]pon him, he fell down before the throne.

2 [Then he said to the king, "Live,] O King, forever! You are vexed, and changed

3 [is the complexion of your face; de]pressed is your gaze. (But) [you shall rule over] everything forever!

4 [And your deeds will be g]reat. (Yet) distress shall come upon the earth;

5 [there will be war among the peoples] and great carnage in the provinces,

6 [which the bands of] the king of Assyria [will cause]. [And E]gypt

7 [will be with them. But your son] shall also be great upon the earth,

8 [and all peoples sh]all make [peace with him], and they shall all serve

9 [him, (for)] he shall be called [son of] the [gr]eat [God], and by his name shall he be named.

(Then col. 2 would follow, as translated above.)

Notes

Col. 1

1. וכדי דחלה רבה עלוהי שרת. "When great fear settled upon him". This description probably refers to the enthroned king. Milik had originally restored רוחה, "his Spirit", thinking that God's throne was involved, as in *1 Enoch* 14,24⁽¹⁰⁾. But it is clear that the enthroned person is human; so some other restoration is needed.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See *Books of Enoch*, 60.

What is given here depends on Dan 10,7, אבל הרדה גדלה נפלה עליהם, "but great fear fell upon them", as Milik eventually rightly noted. שרה is 3dsg. fem. of שרי, "settle, abide". This restoration is also used by Puech, who discusses other less likely possibilities, some of them with רוחא די נבואה, "the spirit of prophecy".

נפל קדם כרסא. "He fell down before the throne". This characteristic phrase for prostration before an enthroned person refers to the one who addresses the king, possibly a seer who may interpret a vision that the king has seen. Compare Dan 7,20 (נפל מן קדם), and even better καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐν ὄψεσιν τοῦ θρόνου (Rev 7,11; cf. 4,10; 11,16; 14,3; 19,4). Puech regards the noun כרסא as fully written; it is rather the normal writing of the emphatic state, "the throne".

2. אדן אמר למלכא. "Then he said to the king". Puech has inserted here the name of Daniel. Even though this might be a pseudo-Danielic text, it is not certain that Daniel is the seer involved, given the fragmentary state of it. But it is not an impossible interpretation. Milik discusses the possibility of Enoch, or some other visionary of sacred history, such as Levi, Moses, or Elijah⁽¹¹⁾.

חיי מלכא לעלמא. "Live, O King, forever!" The reading is problematic here. חיי[מ] creates no problem, but it is followed by a dot, possibly the bottom of initial lamedh. Hence, לצלמא. Puech so reads the text, but thinks that this has been corrected. Yet that correction is not clear. For parallel sayings, see Dan 2,4 (מלכא לעלמין חיי); 3,9; 5,10; 6,7.22. Though the word order differs, the greeting is the same. This greeting must refer to some Jewish king, not a Seleucid.

אתה רמ. "You are vexed". Because of the broken state of the text, the reason for the king's irritation or anger is unknown, but there may have been reference to some vision that the king had seen which terrified him. A dot of ink appearing between נ and ו might suggest the reading רניו, the passive participle; but it is too tiny to be certain that it is a letter. Hence the active participle רמ is preferred.

ושניך זיי אנפך. "And changed is the complexion of your face". Both Milik and Puech have understood the last word in line 2 שניך to mean "your years". Though a possibility, it does not fit too well with what precedes. Compare Dan 5,6, זייהי שנוהי, "and his complexion was changed", an idiomatic expression used in a similar

(11) Ibid.

context where emotion is mentioned. The Aramaic construction there is strange: שנהוי is the third plural masculine perfect of the verb שני, "be changed", with a pronominal suffix referring to the subject זיהוי. Here a non-accusative suffix appears with an intransitive verb, anomalous as that might seem. Yet it is not isolated. See H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle/Saale 1927) § 75d and n. 2 (Nerab Stela 2,3); cf. M. Bogaert, "Les suffixes verbaux non accusatifs dans le sémantique nord-occidental et particulièrement en hébreu", *Bib* 45 (1964) 220-247, esp. 227-228 (noting also Aimé-Giron Ostrakon 1,B3). Hence שניך could be a similar form, with the second person singular pronominal suffix referring to the complexion of "your face", a sort of redundant ethical dative. Compare לה in 1QapGen 20,4 (J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* [BibOr 18A; Rome 1971] 120).

3. עליבא חוור. "Depressed is your gaze". Only a dot is left of the upper part of ב, which Puech prefers to read as ר. The adjective עליבא is found in 1QapGen 2,17, used of Lamech's spirit (רוח).

וכלא אתה עד עלמא תמלך. "(But) you shall rule over everything forever!" This is the consolation that the prostrate figure addresses to the king. It takes the form of a prediction. Puech restores חיי ארו, preferring to take וכלא as the second part of a compound object along with חוור. That they are to be understood as a compound object is unlikely.

4. ויהח עבדיך רברבין. "And your deed will be great". This statement would give further encouragement to the king. רברבין is masculine, and so it cannot modify שניך (feminine), as Milik originally suggested; nor does רב mean "many" in Aramaic.

עקה תתא על ארעא. "(Yet) distress shall come upon the earth". This is a typical apocalyptic statement. Compare Dan 12,1 (והיתה עת צרה); or Mark 13,19 (ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκείναι θλίψεις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως). Cf. 4QTLepi 5 iii 11 [] עקה רבה תתא עליכן.

5. ולהוה קרב בעממא ונחשירין רב במדינתא. "There will be war among the peoples] and great carnage in the provinces". This line thus describes in detail the "distress" of line 4. Though J. Carmignac (*VT* 5 [1955] 363-364) once tried to explain נחשיר, "carnage", as a form derived from חשר, it is now recognized to be a Persian word (< *nahčīr*). Cf. J.P. de Menasce, "Iranian *naxčīr*", *VT* 6 (1956)

213-214; J.P. Asmussen, "Das iranische Lehnwort *nahšir* in der Kriegerrolle von Qumrān (1QM)", *AcOr* (Copenhagen) 26 (1961-62) 3-20. It is also found in 1QM 1,9.10.[13]. For Puech, the singular adjective רב demands the reading תחשירך, but there is no difference in the shape of the two yodhs. The form is the absolute plural, a plural of intensification (see GKC §124g), which can be modified by a singular adjective (cf. Isa 19,4, אדנים קשה). Moreover, Puech's reading introduces a questionable Hebraic form (in ח-). Cf. נחשירותא of the Bodleian text of Cairo Testament of Levi (a3). Elsewhere נחשיר stands in parallelism to קרב; hence the restoration here.

6. די יעבדן גרודי מלך אתור. "Which the bands of the king of Assyria will cause". In 1QM 1,2 the גרודי כתיי אשר, "bands of the Kittim of Assyria", will do battle with the sons of light in the eschatological war. Similarly, in 1QM 1,4 הכתיים במצרים [גרודי], "the bands of the Kittim in Egypt". This separate mention of bands from Assyria and from Egypt may be similar to what appears here. So מצרן may not be coordinate with אתור, as a compound nomen rectum with מלך, as Puech has understood it. In any case, the sense is little affected, because both Assyria and Egypt are understood apocalyptically as the eschatological enemies causing war and carnage. Milik understands מלך אתור to mean historically "roi de Syrie", i.e. one of the Seleucid kings!⁽¹²⁾ The form אתור, instead of earlier אשר which is still found in 1QapGen 17,8, is to be noted; it also occurs in *Aḥiqar* 3-5.8.10-14 etc. and may represent a Persian pronunciation; cf. F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achämeniden* (Frankfurt am M. 1963) 1. 184; Sinaiticus of Tob 14,4 (Αθούρ).

ומצרן להוה עמהן. "And Egypt will be with them". Or מצרן may be part of a compound nomen rectum in a construct chain; then one would have to reckon with a different restoration at the beginning of line 7. In either case, Milik ignores this mention of "Egypt" in his interpretation.

7. ברם אף ברך רב להוה על ארעא. "But your son shall also be great upon the earth". One can compare Luke 1,32, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας, or Luke 1,15, ἔσται ἄρ μέγας ἐν ὅπσιον [τοῦ] κυρίου. If "your son" is not the best restoration, perhaps "your successor" (חלפך) might do instead⁽¹³⁾. Cf. Sefire III 22.

⁽¹²⁾ See "Modèles araméens", 383.

⁽¹³⁾ Here Puech attributes to me a restoration that I do not recognize.

8. וכל עממא שלם עמה יעבדון. "And all peoples shall make peace with him". One could also restore מלכא, "kings", instead of "peoples". Flusser gratuitously introduces a Hebraism at this point, taking the verb עבד to mean "worship", but there is no reason for that. Compare 2,6.

וכלא ישמשן לה. "And they shall all serve him". Cf. Dan 7,10 (with the same verb שמש).14.

9. והוא בר אל רבא יתקרא. "(For) he shall be called son of the great God". How is the lacuna to be restored? Milik once suggested [בר מלכא ר], "son of the great king", taking it as a reference to Alexander Balas, pretended son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Seleucid dynast from 150-145 BC, who had the same name as the conqueror, Alexander the Great. Later Milik used חלימ instead of בר, but that would mean "succession", and not successor. He also understands the verb יתקרא as middle, "il se proclamera Fils de Dieu et (qu')on appellera Fils du Très Haut" (14). Puech uses rather [בר מרא ר], "le fils du Gr[and] [Souverain]", appealing to 4QEn^b 1 iii 14. But the Enoch text, only partially preserved, reads [הו]א מרנא רבא [הו]א מרנא עלמא, "[You are] our great Lord, the Lord of eternity" (15). There emphatic רבא modifies a suffixal form, which is correct; but Puech's combination of the absolute מרה with the emphatic רבא creates an anomaly; one would have to say מרנא. I have used והוא בר אל רבא as the restoration, because אל רבא is used in 2,7. It suits this context, especially in light of the following clauses. Flusser regards my emendation as repetitious of what is said in the immediate context; he would rather restore [אל ר]בא, "Great [God] he shall be called". That may suit better Flusser's understanding of the text as a whole, but his interpretation is not without its difficulty. Moreover, the restoration is too short for the lacuna, as Puech has also noted.

ובשמה יתכנה. "And by his name shall he be named", i.e. by God's name. The form יתכנה is undoubtedly ithpa'al.

Col. 2

1. ברה די אל יתאמר. "He shall be hailed (as) son of God". Noteworthy is this use of the title "son of God" in a pre-Christian

(14) See "Modèles araméens", 383.

(15) See *Books of Enoch*, 171.

Jewish extrabiblical text for the successor of the enthroned king. It is probably inspired by 2 Sam 7,14, where Nathan's oracle says of David, "I will be a father to him, and he shall be my son". Cf. T. de Kruijf, *Der Sohn des lebendigen Gottes* (AnBib 16; Rome 1962) 10-24.

Note also the use of אַל as "God" in an Aramaic text. Though not used in Biblical Aramaic, it occurs again in 2,4.7; so there is no doubt about its use in Aramaic. See also 1QapGen 12,17; 19,[8]; 20,12.16; 21,2.20; 22,15.16bis.21; 11QJN 14,1. This may solve the problem about whether ἡλί, "my God", in Matt 27,46 (ἡλί ἡλί λέμα σαβαχθάνι) could be Aramaic.

This clause has a Greek counterpart in Luke 1,35, κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ. Note the similar use of אֲמֵר in Hebrew Isa 4,3, "will be called holy".

וּבֵר עֲלִיָּן יִקְרֹנָה. "And they shall call him son of the Most High". The text now uses another title intended to emphasize the character of the successor. It is striking in its collocation with "son of God" and in its proximity to the statement that this successor will be "great upon the earth" (1,7). The combination of these titles along with the statement about greatness provides an interesting Palestinian Jewish matrix for Lucan usage in 1,32, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται. Recall too the Lucan use of υἱοὶ ὑψίστου, "sons of the Most High" for Christian disciples in 6,35. The absence of definite articles in the Lucan usage is indicative of the Semitism involved, which is now clearly manifest in this Aramaic text.

עֲלִיָּן is used as a divine name in the Old Testament sometimes by non-Jews: by the Canaanite priest Melchizedek (Gen 14,18-20) and by Balaam (Num 24,16); cf. Isa 14,14. Both אַל and עֲלִיָּן, as names of a pair of gods, are found in the eighth-century BC Aramaic inscription of Sefire (I A 11)⁽¹⁶⁾.

עֲלִיָּן is also used for the God of Israel (Deut 32,8; Isa 14,14); the two names אַל and עֲלִיָּן appear in parallelism in Ps 73,11; 107,11, and in Ps 91,9 יהוה and עֲלִיָּן are also parallel. The combination אַל עֲלִיָּן occurs in 1QapGen 22,15.16, rendering in Aramaic the Hebrew of Gen 14,18.20. It thus differs from the usual Biblical Aramaic אֱלֹהֵא עֲלִיָּא (Dan 3,26.32; 5,18.21).

⁽¹⁶⁾ See *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (BibOr 19; Rome 1967) 12, 37-38.

The use of ὑψιστος, "most high", in the Septuagint (e.g. Gen 14,18-20) and the New Testament reflects the widespread Jewish use of the title (see Philo, *In Flaccum* 7 §46; *Ad Gaium* 36 §278; 40 §317; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.6.2 §163). But it may also have been affected by the use of this epithet in the Greek-speaking world: for Zeus (e.g. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1289: Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου; Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 1.60; 11.2; Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 28); and for other gods (Γῆ, Ἥλιος). See C. Roberts – T. C. Skeat – A. D. Nock, "The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos", *HTR* 29 (1936) 39-88, esp. 55-72; F. Cumont, "Ἑψιστος", *PW* 9/1 (1914) 444-450; C. Colpe, "Hypsistos", *Der kleine Pauly* (5 vols.; Stuttgart 1964-75) II, 1291-1292; G. Bertram, "Hypsistos", *TDNT* VIII, 614-620. Ἑψιστος is employed by a Greek-speaking pagan in Acts 16,17 and by demons in Mark 5,7; Luke 8,28. In contrast, Stephen utilizes it in Acts 7,48.

כזיקא די חזותא כן מלכותה תהא. "Like comets that one sees, so shall their rule be". Lit. "like comets of the vision", i.e. like comets that appear to the eye momentarily as they speed across the heavens. The comparison stresses the fleeting and ephemeral character of these reigns. Cf. *1 Enoch* 41,3 ("There my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning"); 43,1. Also Luke 17,24, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἀστράπουσα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν λάμπει οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ].

2. שנין ימלכך על ארעא. "For (some) years they shall rule upon the earth". Fleeting though the reigns will be, they may last for years.

3. וכלא ידשן עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למדינה. "And shall trample everything (under foot); people shall trample upon people, province upon [pro]vince". So shall be the war and carnage mentioned in 1,5. The verb דוש is also used in an apocalyptic context in Dan 7,23. A commonplace of apocalyptic writing is used; cf. Isa 19,2; Mark 13,8; Matt 24,7; Luke 21,10; 4 Ezra 13,31 (*gens ad gentem et regnum aduersus regnum*); *Or. Sib.* 3.635-36.

4. עד יקום עם אל. "Until there arises the people of God". So the success of the Jewish people is described, the people over whom the enthroned king rules. It will bring to an end the hostile reign of the enemy kingdoms. Cf. Dan 7,17-18. The clause describes the advent of the end-time, introduced by the eschatological עד with the imperfect. Compare Luke 21,24, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Sometimes the infinitive construct is used instead of the imperfect, as in 4QPBless 1 i 3-4, עד בוא משיח הצדק, "until the coming of the

righteous Messiah"; 1QS 9,11; CD 5,5. Puech notes that the verb might be read as יקים, "until he causes the people of God to arise". Though possible, that is less likely because of the syntax of the following clause, in which כלא is subject, as it is in line 6. It is hardly likely that "God" would be the subject of יקים, since he is mentioned in the phrase עם אל.

עם אל does not appear in the Old Testament, where one finds, however, עם יהוה (Num 11,29; 17,6; Judg 5,11; 1 Sam 2,24; 2 Sam 1,12; 6,21; 2 Kgs 9,6; Zeph 2,10) or עם אלהים (Judg 20,2; 2 Sam 14,13); also "my people" (Hos 2,25; Isa 22,4; Jer 51,45; cf. Lev 26,12). The phrase itself does occur in similar eschatological usage in 1QM 1,5; 3,13. Its Greek equivalent λαὸς θεοῦ is known in the New Testament, e.g. 1 Pet 2,10; with articles in Heb 4,9; 11,25. Cf. N.A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes: Eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenbewusstsein des Urchristentums* (Darmstadt 1963).

וכלא ינוח מן חרב. "And everyone rests from the sword". Cf. "rest from one's enemies" (Esth 9,16.22). Cf. Isa 2,4; Mic 4,3; Jes 14,13.15; 4QEn^c 5 ii 21-22; 4QEn^g 1 ii 16 (ותנוח אר[עא] מן חרב). See Note on 2,6 below.

5. מלכותה מלכות עלם. "His kingdom (shall be) an everlasting kingdom". This statement stands in contrast to the fleeting reigns of the enemy kings (2,2). It is borrowed from Dan 3,33 or 7,27. Compare Luke 1,34, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. The suffix could possibly refer to God's people: "its kingdom (shall be) an everlasting kingdom". Since the successor is to be the king of that people, there is little change in meaning. "His", however, is preferred because of the following clauses, and especially the second one, "he shall judge the land with truth".

וכל ארחתה בקשט. "And all his ways (shall be) in truth", or "in righteousness". So the conduct of the successor is characterized. Cf. Dan 4,34, וכל-מעבדותי קשט וארחתה דין; Deut 32,4, כי כל-דרכיו משפט; Rev 15,4, δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου. Here קשט is fully written; contrast the form in the next clause.

ידן ארעא בקשט. "He shall judge the land with truth". Or "with righteousness", a characteristic of his reign. Cf. Ps. Sol. 17,29, κρινεῖ λαοὺς καὶ ἔθνη ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιοσύνης, "he will judge peoples and nations with righteous wisdom". Also Ps 72,1-2, where such judgment is to be given to the king.

6. וכלא יעבד שלם. "And everyone shall make peace". Another general characteristic of his reign: all peoples will be at peace. Cf. Isa 27,5. One is here reminded of the famous *pax Augusta* of a later date.

חרב מן ארעא יסף. "The sword will cease from the land". This simply repeats the idea of 2,4. יסף is defective writing for יסוף. It could conceivably be defective writing for the aphel יסיף, but then the question would be, Who is the subject of "cause to cease". God? The successor king? Or the people? Compare the Greek of 1 Macc 9,73, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ρομφαία ἐξ Ἰσραήλ, which argues in favor of the imperfect peal. See Note on 2,4 above.

7. וכל מדינתא לה יסגדן. "And all the provinces shall pay him homage", i.e. will bow down before him. For the verb סגד, see Dan 2,46; 3,5.7.10.12.14.15.18; also 4QTJud ar 1 a 4⁽¹⁷⁾.

אל רבא באילה הוא. "The great God is himself his might". When this successor king has to do battle, he will find the "great God" his support. The preposition ב is probably an instance of *beth essentiae*. הוא may be simply the copula, but it could also be emphatic. Cf. Sir 5,1, יש לאל ידי.

The Aramaic אל רבא is not found in the Old Testament, where רב אלה or אלה רב rather appears (Ezra 5,8; Dan 2,45). It is the equivalent of Hebrew אל גדול (Deut 17,21; 10,17; Ps 77,14; 95,3; Jer 32,18; Dan 9,4; Neh 1,5; 9,32; 1QM 10,1). Cf. קדישא רבא. "the Great Holy One" (1QapGen 12,17). A Greek form of the title is found on a Caesarean inscription: ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ ΔΕ[σπότης] (B. Lifshitz, "Inscriptions de Césarée", *RB* 74 [1967] 50-59).

In Nabatean inscriptions one finds the combined רבאל as a proper name (see G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* [Oxford 1903] §95,3; §97 iii 3; §101,9). Cf. עבד רבאל (CIS 2. 304); J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1970", *Syria* 47 (1970) 357-389, esp. 366.

8. ועבד לה קרב. "He shall make war for him". If occasion arises, God will be in battle on his side. Cf. Deut 7,21-23; 1QM 1,9-10; 13,13-14. The idiom עבד קרב also occurs in 1QapGen 21,25.31; 4QEnGiants^c 2,4⁽¹⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁷⁾ See J. T. MILIK, "Ecrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram", *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. DELCOR) (BETL 46; Louvain-Gembloux-Paris 1978) 91-106, esp. 97. Milik uses an unconventional siglum, 4QAJu, which should not be repeated.

⁽¹⁸⁾ See MILIK, *Books of Enoch*, 307; cf. his "Turfan et Qumran: Livre

עממין יתן בידה. "Peoples He shall put in his power", literally, "in his hand". This probably expresses the extent of the successor's rule.

וכלהן ירמה קדמהי. "And all of them He shall cast before him". Another expression of the universality of the king's rule. Cf. *Ps. Sol.* 17,30, καὶ ἔξει λαοὺς ἔθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ, "he will have peoples of the nations to serve him under his yoke".

9. שלטנה שלטן עלם. "His dominion (shall be) an everlasting dominion". The duration of the rule of the successor is guaranteed to be longlived. The clause is derived from Dan 4,31 or 7,14.

וכל תהומי. "And none of the abysses of the earth shall prevail against it!" The cosmic scope of the dominion is stressed; nothing that opposes the dominion of this successor shall succeed. In *Ps* 71,20 תהומי הארץ is used in the sense of Sheol. Perhaps one could restore the line thus: ארעא לא יתקפן מנה. Compare וכול צבו לא תקפתכה. "and nothing is stronger than You" (4QEn Giants^a 9,4); or [דאנו]ן תקיפן מני, "they are more powerful than I" (4QEnGiants^c 2,6-7)⁽¹⁹⁾. Also Matt 16,18: καὶ πύλαι ἕδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. תהום occurs in 11QtgJob 38,8. Puech restores: [ארעא ישמעון לה or לה שמשון לה, "et tous les abîmes de [la terre(?) lui obéiront]".

Commentary

The importance of this text for the tenets and theology of the Qumran community cannot be underestimated. Its language reveals that it is apocalyptic: it speaks of distress that will come upon the land, of the disastrous reign of enemies, which is to be, however, short-lived; it will last "until there arises the people of God, and everyone rests from the sword". It promises the emergence of some figure, called "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High", who will rule in peace and everlasting prosperity. The apocalyptic stageprops are clear.

The text begins with a fragmentary narrative sentence: When something happened, someone, possibly a seer, fell before the

des Géants juif et manichéen", *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (FS K. G. Kuhn; [ed. G. JEREMIAS et al.] Göttingen 1971) 124.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See MILIK, *Books of Enoch*, 316-317, 307-308.

throne. The prostrate person seems to address the enthroned person, a human king, using the second singular independent personal pronoun and pronominal suffix (-k). The enthroned king is described as shaken by the evils that he has been made to realize as coming in his days, evils that are described in the fragmentary lines 4-6 of col. 1, among which is the influence of the "king of Assyria" and of "Egypt". That description could continue on to line 7, "[] will be great upon the earth", but that line could also be the announcement of a change that is being promised to the enthroned king: "he/it will be great", will be served by all, will be given lofty titles, guarantees of divine favor. In col. 2, which is completely preserved, the first part of line 1 continues these titles. The end of it describes the short-lived duration of the enemy's reign (with plural suffixes and plural verbs, which clearly refer to some other persons or people). Their reign will last only "until there arises the people of God" (line 4). Its rule, or possibly his rule, is then extolled: respite from war, an everlasting kingship, and paths of truth and peace with all provinces in submission. For the Great God will be with him (or it), and He will subject all enemies to him (or it).

The difficulty of interpreting the text is sixfold. (a) Who is the speaker and whom does he address? (b) Are the references to the "king of Assyria" and to "Egypt" and the plurals being used allusions to historical figures and situations, or are they references similar to "the Kittim of Assyria" and "the Kittim in Egypt" in another apocalyptic text, 1QM 1,2.4? (c) If they are to be taken in an apocalyptic sense rather than in a historical sense, can one say to whom do they refer? (d) Who is X, the person of whom the titles are used? (e) Is X to be understood in a positive or a negative sense? (f) To whom does the third singular masculine in 2,5-9 refer? Is it the "people of God" (2,4) or X, the expected person?

Because of these problems six different interpretations have been given to the text.

1. Milik now thinks that the text refers to a king of Syria (מלך אחר, 1,6), whose reign would be disastrous, and whose supreme blasphemy was that he would proclaim himself Son of God and be called Son of the Most High⁽²⁰⁾. This would then refer to the last Seleucid king, whose reign would be followed by an eschatological

⁽²⁰⁾ "Modèles araméens", 383.

rule of the people of God. Because Alexander Balas (150-145 BC) became king of Syria on the death of Demetrios I Soter and used the Greek title Θεοπάτωρ on coins of his realm⁽²¹⁾, the titles "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High" in this Qumran text would refer to him.

This interpretation is problematic, first, because one wonders why such a Palestinian text of clearly Jewish provenience would tolerate the laudatory appellation of a pagan king with "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High". Second, no matter who the speaker is, he is addressing a human king who needs reassurance about the continuation of his rule, about someone who will succeed him and who is related to "the people of God". This seems to be the message that the seer is trying to give the enthroned king. Third, as F. García Martínez has pointed out, it was Alexander Balas, through whom Jonathan became the high priest⁽²²⁾. Was he then regarded as an enemy of Israel, as Milik's interpretation would presuppose? Hardly.

2. The text has been given a different interpretation by D. Flusser, who regards it as apocalyptic⁽²³⁾. For him, the *vacat* with which 2,4 begins starts a new topic: the rise of God's people. What precedes the *vacat* would describe "the leader of this horrible kingdom" which will bring all the distress; it also tells of those who worship and serve him and how they regard him. The first part of the text would refer, then, not to a historical figure, but to an Antichrist, an idea which "is surely Jewish and pre-Christian", a human exponent of the Satanic forces of evil. Flusser compares 2 Thess 1,1-12, "the man of lawlessness", and other apocalyptic texts: *Ascension of Isaiah* 4,2-16, which speaks of the incarnation of

⁽²¹⁾ See F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Monnaies grecques* (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandelingen 14; Amsterdam 1883) 433-434 (§ 102, pl. H 13).

⁽²²⁾ See Josephus, *Ant.* 13.2.2 § 45. Cf. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "4Q 246: ¿Tipo del Anticristo o Libertador escatológico?", *El misterio de la Palabra: Homenaje a L. Alonso Schökel* (ed. V. COLLADO-E. ZURRO) (Madrid 1983) 229-244, esp. 235; in English, "The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246", in his *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden 1992) 162-179, esp. 169.

⁽²³⁾ "The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran", *Immanuel* 10 (1980) 31-37; repr. in his *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem 1988) 207-213.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored, aged paper. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and variations in letter height. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines being more prominent than others. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but aged piece of paper with significant historical value.

Beliar, in whom all peoples will believe and to whom they will sacrifice; *Oracle of Hystaspes*, which describes a king who will arise from Syria, a destroyer of the human race who "will constitute and call himself God and will order himself to be worshipped as the Son of God" ⁽²⁴⁾; and *Assumption of Moses* 8. Hence this Qumran text too would tell of the *hubris* of the same sort of Antichrist.

Although the parallels are striking, Flusser's interpretation depends on his questionable understanding of the Aramaic verb יַעֲבֹד (1,8) as a Hebraism meaning "worship". Even though he insists that the idea of the Antichrist is Jewish and pre-Christian, the evidence that he uses is from Christian texts, as F. García Martínez has also noted. Nor does all that precedes the *vacat* have to be understood in a negative sense, since we may encounter here the repetitious treatment of a topic characteristic of apocalyptic writing.

3. Still another interpretation of the text has been given by F. García Martínez ⁽²⁵⁾, who thinks that the mysterious personage is an eschatological savior of angelic or heavenly character, someone "designated in other texts [11QMelchizedek; 4QVisAmram, 4Q175] as Michael, Melchizedek, Prince of Light (*IQM* XIII 10) and proclaimed in this text as 'Son of God' and 'Son of the Most High'" ⁽²⁶⁾. He finds an intelligible context for this text in what is said in *IQM* 17,5-8, where Michael is promised to come in the end-time to bring low the Prince of the dominion of wickedness.

That there are such heavenly figures in the Qumran texts is clear and that they form part of the Qumran community's eschatological tenets is also evident, but that they supply the key to the identification of the mysterious figure is the problem. Such titles are never used elsewhere of those heavenly figures. As J. J. Collins has noted ⁽²⁷⁾, this text speaks of God as "the strength" of the mysterious figure. Would that be said of a heavenly figure? The thrust of the text, however, is such that one would expect these titles to be ascribed to a human being.

⁽²⁴⁾ Preserved in Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 7.17.2-4; CSEL 19.638-39.

⁽²⁵⁾ "Eschatological Figure", 172-179.

⁽²⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁽²⁷⁾ "The 'Son of God' Text from Qumran", *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. M. DE BOER) (Sheffield forthcoming). (This paper was also read at the annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association in Washington, August 1992; I am indebted to him for an advance copy of it.)

4. M. Hengel has suggested that the titles may be interpreted collectively "of the Jewish people, like the Son of Man in Dan. 7,13" ⁽²⁸⁾. This suggestion exploits the unclarity of the third person singular reference in col. 2.

5. In the *editio princeps*, Puech has questioned a number of these interpretations and has given the text a messianic interpretation ⁽²⁹⁾. For him the titles are to be ascribed to an expected "Messiah". In this he follows H.-W. Kuhn ⁽³⁰⁾, and is supported by J.J. Collins ⁽³¹⁾. This sort of interpretation was also mentioned by authors who had not even seen the text ⁽³²⁾. From the very beginning of his discussion, Puech classifies this text along with others that propose the messianic tenets of the Qumran community.

I find this messianic interpretation, however, questionable. That there was, indeed, a lively messianic expectation in the Qumran community is beyond doubt; that it was bipolar, expecting both a Davidic and a priestly messiah, is also accurate. But such an interpretation of this text encounters several problems.

(a) The word "messiah" is not used in this text.

(b) Are the titles "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High" to be understood without further ado as "messianic"? These titles have an Old Testament background ⁽³³⁾. Although the king on the

⁽²⁸⁾ M. HENGEL, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (Philadelphia 1976) 45.

⁽²⁹⁾ He does, however, toy with the interpretation of the text in a negative sense, that the mysterious person could be a Seleucid ruler, either Alexander Balas, as Milik interprets it, or even Antiochus IV Epiphanes ("Fragment", 127-130), but his wide-ranging discussion of the document in a messianic sense reveals where his preference lies.

⁽³⁰⁾ "Röm 1,3f und der davidische Messias als Gottessohn in den Qumrantexten", *Lesezeichen für Annelies Findeiss zum 65. Geburtstag am 15. März 1984* (ed. C. BURCHARD-G. THEISSEN) (Heidelberg 1984) 103-113 [non vidi].

⁽³¹⁾ "The 'Son of God' Text". He considers the use of "Son of God" to be an "early interpretation of the 'one like a son of man' in Daniel 7, who also stands in parallelism to the people", without, however, being "simply an exposition of Daniel 7".

A messianic interpretation has also been used by S. KIM, "*The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God* (WUNT 30; Tübingen 1983) 20-22, esp. n. 33.

⁽³²⁾ See some of those mentioned in n. 1 above.

⁽³³⁾ For the history of these titles in the ancient Near East, See J. A. FITZMYER, *Paul and His Theology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1989) §PT 49-50;

Davidic throne is often said to be God's son (e.g. 2 Sam 7,14; Ps 2,7-8), the titles are not used there of a messianic figure. In Christian writings of the New Testament they are so used of him who is the Messiah, but that is an entirely different matter. Per se, the titles do not connote "messiah" in the Old Testament, and only a naive interpretation emerging from tradition espouses that connotation. Nor do they do so in any Qumran texts.

(c) Puech's messianic interpretation of this text depends on the way he has read certain Old Testament passages as speaking of "un messie roi du judaïsme" ⁽³⁴⁾. But by what right does one call 2 Sam 7,12-16 and 23,5, Gen 49,10-12, Psalms 2, 89, and 110, Isaiah 9-11, Zech 3,8; 6,12 "messianic" within pre-Christian Jewish tradition? The Old Testament often calls *historic* figures מֶלֶךְ: a king (generically), in 1 Sam 2,10.35; 16,6; Ps 2,2; 20,7; 28,8; 84,10; Saul, in 1 Sam 12,3.5; 24,7bis.11; 26,9.11.16.23; 2 Sam 1,14.16.21(?) ⁽³⁵⁾; David, in 2 Sam 19,22; 22,51; 23,1; Ps 18,51; 89,39.52; 132,10.17; Solomon, in 2 Chr 6,42; Zedekiah, in Lam 4,20; Cyrus, in Isa 45,1; possibly the patriarchs of old, in Ps 105,15; 1 Chr 16,22 ⁽³⁶⁾; the high priest, in Lev 4,3.5.16; 6,15; and even the people of Israel as a whole, in Hab 3,13; Ps 28,8. There were undoubtedly other kings in Israel's history, who had sat on the Davidic throne, but were not accorded the title מֶלֶךְ, much less "Messiah" in the proper sense.

Some of the foregoing passages (1 Sam 2,10.35; Ps 132,17) refer to the dynasty that will eventually develop as Davidic; but they have to be understood generically of a guarantee of the future Davidic household or dynasty, or of what has been called "restorative monarchism" ⁽³⁷⁾. The person mentioned as "messiah" is not necessarily part of the continuation or restoration of the monarchy. In other words, the passages may express eschatological hopes, but not directly eschatological messianism. Usually the foregoing

A Wandering Aramean, 104-107; G. P. WETTER, *Der Sohn Gottes* (FRLANT 26; Göttingen 1916); P. A. H. DE BOER, "The Son of God in the Old Testament", *Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis* (ed. A. S. VAN DER WOUDE) (OTS 18; Leiden 1973) 188-207.

⁽³⁴⁾ "Fragment", 98.

⁽³⁵⁾ See the *apparatus criticus* on this passage; the form may be plural.

⁽³⁶⁾ See the commentators: this may refer to prophets.

⁽³⁷⁾ See J. BECKER, *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, PA 1980) 54-57.

passages refer to persons who have been “anointed” or who were agents whom God *has* appointed, but they are not Messiahs (with a capital M), i.e. future, expected anointed figures *to be raised up* by God for the good or the salvation of his people. Hence, in none of these instances is the adjective “messianic” truly applicable.

(d) From such Old Testament passages, however, especially those with a vague or generic future reference, there developed in time the promise of a “future David”, one who is not yet called “messiah”. Thus in Jer 30,9, “They shall serve the Lord, their God, and David, their king, whom I shall raise up for them”. See also Hos 3,5; Ezek 34,23-24; 37,24-25 (in these Ezekiel passages a future David is promised who will be a “shepherd” [רעה] or a “prince” [נרד], but who is not yet called משיח). Other relevant passages would be Jer 23,5-6; 22,4; 30,21; 33,14-17; Ezek 29,21; Amos 9,11. These texts clearly refer to the renewal of the Davidic dynasty⁽³⁸⁾.

(e) The first clear reference in the Old Testament to משיח, used in the sense of an expected, future charismatically endowed and anointed agent of Yahweh to be raised up for the good of his people Israel, is found in Dan 9,25-26, “From the utterance of a word about the rebuilding of Jerusalem until one who is anointed, a leader (משיח נרד), there shall be seven weeks.... After sixty-two weeks (the) anointed one shall be cut off”. Here one could well substitute “Messiah”. Written in final form c.165 BC, this passage provides the context for the development of the Qumran belief in expected messianic figures⁽³⁹⁾.

(f) The Qumran messianic passages are clear. The cardinal one is: “until the coming of a prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel” (1QS 9,11). See also 1QSa 2,11-12.14.20; CD 19,10-11; 20,1; 12,23-13,1; 14,19; 4QP Bless 1 i 3-4; 4Q161 (4QpIsaiah^a) 7-10 iii

⁽³⁸⁾ Ibid., 58-63.

⁽³⁹⁾ In other words, “there is no evidence for true messianism until the second century B.C.” (BECKER, *Messianic Expectation*, 50). Some Jewish scholars would even regard it as “a strictly postbiblical concept” (H.L. GINSBERG, “Messiah”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York–Jerusalem 1971) 11.1407. He traces it to “the Jews of the Roman period”. Cf. P. GRELOT, “Le Messie dans les Apocryphes de l’Ancien Testament”, *La Venue du Messie: Messianisme et eschatologie* (ed. E. MASSAUX) (Recherches bibliques 6; Bruges 1962) 19-50.

15-19; 4Q174 (4QFlorilegium) 1-2 i 11; 4Q175 (4QTestimonia)⁽⁴⁰⁾; possibly also 1Q30 1,2; and 4Q285⁽⁴¹⁾. That some of these passages allude to 2 Sam 7,14 or Isa 11,1 no one will deny; but it remains noteworthy that none of them ever uses the title "Son of God"⁽⁴²⁾.

(g) To the foregoing Qumran passages one could add the following references, which may have some relation to Qumran theology: *T. Levi* 8,13-14 (possibly an allusion to a priestly and Davidic Messiah); *T. Reuben* 6,8 ("until the fulfillment of the times of an anointed high priest"⁽⁴³⁾); *T. Simeon* 7,1-2⁽⁴⁴⁾; *Ps. Sol.* 17,32 (χριστὸς κυρίου), which may not be an Essene composition.

When one uses the messianic interpretation of this text, one is importing the same kind of eisegetical "messianic" interpretation of the "Son of Man" in Dan 7,13, which was standard for many centuries, but which even Collins admits "has fallen into disfavor in recent times"⁽⁴⁵⁾. Hence I continue to question the importation of messianism into the interpretation of this text⁽⁴⁶⁾, and continue to insist that there is as yet nothing in the Old Testament or in the pre-Christian Palestinian Jewish tradition that we know of to show that "Son of God" had a messianic nuance.

6. Consequently, I consider this apocalyptic text to speak positively of a coming Jewish ruler, perhaps a member of the

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Of disputed interpretation: see R.E. BROWN, "Dead Sea Scrolls", *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. R.E. BROWN et al.) (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1990) art. 67 §91.

⁽⁴¹⁾ See G. VERMES, "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research: Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)", *JJS* 43 (1992) 85-90. In 1QM 11:7 משיח is used of the prophets; similarly CD 2:12; 6:1; 6Q15 (6QD) 3:4.

⁽⁴²⁾ For secondary literature on Qumran messianism, see my book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study: Revised Edition* (SBLRBS 20; Atlanta, GA 1990) 164-167.

⁽⁴³⁾ μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ. The footnote in M. DE JONGE's translation reads: "Or 'of Christ, the high priest'", See H. F. D. SPARKS (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford 1984) 520.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ ἀναστήσει γὰρ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ὡς ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὡς βασιλέα, θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον, which sounds like a Christian interpolation.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ "The 'Son of God' Text".

⁽⁴⁶⁾ I have mentioned non-Qumran passages in the preceding paragraph only to state where I stand in reference to them, since they have entered into the discussion of this text by both Puech and Collins.

Hasmonean dynasty, who be a successor to the Davidic throne, but who is not envisaged as a Messiah. The text should be understood as a sectarian affirmation of God's provision and guarantee of the Davidic dynasty. But just as not every king of old who sat on David's throne was given the title "Messiah", so too it is not clear that the successor to the enthroned king will necessarily be a Messiah, even though the text grants that he will be "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High". I continue to think that that successor may be a son of the enthroned king.

However one wants to interpret the character of this apocalyptic Qumran writing, it makes clear that such titles were "not completely alien to Palestinian Judaism" ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

In my earlier discussion of this text I called attention to the pertinence it has for the interpretation of the Lucan infancy narrative, and especially to the Palestinian Jewish background that it provides for the words of the angel Gabriel to Mary in the annunciation scene ⁽⁴⁸⁾. Here I need only list the pertinent parallels:

οὗτος ἔσται μέγας (1,32);	compare 4Q246 1,7
υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται (1,32)	compare 4Q246 2,1
κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ (1,35)	compare 4Q246 2,1
βασιλεύσει ... εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (1,33)	compare 4Q246 2,5

A problem remains, however, since we cannot say whether we are faced perchance with a coincidental use by Luke of Palestinian Jewish titles known to him or whether "Luke is dependent in some way, whether directly or indirectly, on this long lost text from Qumran" ⁽⁴⁹⁾. In any case, the debate over this important Qumran text is far from over.

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⁽⁴⁷⁾ HENGEL, *The Son of God*, 45.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See "The Contribution", 394; *A Wandering Aramean*, 93; Cf. *The Gospel according to Luke* (AB 28; Garden City, NY 1981) 205-207, 347-348.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ COLLINS, "The 'Son of God' Text".

Der Dekaloganfang und sein Ursprung *

Seit seiner Dissertation zum "Hauptgebot" aus dem Jahre 1962 hat Norbert Lohfink den Dekalog immer wieder ins Zentrum seiner Deuteronomiumforschung gestellt, und im Rahmen einer methodologischen Auseinandersetzung mit sprachstatistischen Argumentationen hat er zeigen können, welch große Bedeutung Prolog und Erstes Gebot des Dekalogs für das Deuteronomium und seine Theologie besitzen⁽¹⁾, weil "mehrere Texte im Dtn, die mehr als andere die Sprachstatistik mit 'Dekalogsprache' füttern, nichts sind als paraphrasierende Kommentare zu dessen Prolog und Erstem Gebot" ⁽²⁾. Damit ist jedoch noch kein endgültiges Urteil über das Alter des Dekalogs gefällt, wie Lohfink selbst betont: "Aus der Widerlegung des sprachstatistischen Arguments folgt nicht, daß der Dekalog, was seinen Anfang angeht, uralte sei. Er könnte durchaus ein Text aus den Anfängen der dt Bewegung sein. Nur, daß er erst an der Grenzscheide zwischen dt und dtr Theologie stünde, wird sich nicht mehr guten Gewissens behaupten lassen" ⁽³⁾. Die Frage die sich aber von hier her mehr noch als die Altersfrage aufdrängt, ist die nach dem Ursprung des Dekaloganfangs. Damit ist über den

* Nicht nur, weil der Dekaloganfang zu "seinen Themen" zählt, seien Norbert Lohfink die folgenden Überlegungen zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet, sondern auch, weil das hier Vorgelegte von seiner überreichen Deuteronomiumerfahrung profitieren durfte; im Frühjahr 1992 hatte ich die Gelegenheit, in Jerusalem, die ersten Ansätze zu der hier vorgelegten These mit ihm zu diskutieren und er hat dann schließlich auch noch durch kritische Lektüre des ersten Entwurfes zu so mancher Klärung beigetragen.

⁽¹⁾ N. LOHFINK, "Die These vom 'deuteronomischen' Dekaloganfang — ein fragwürdiges Ergebnis atomistischer Sprachstatistik", *Studien zum Pentateuch* (FS W. Kornfeld; [Hrsg. G. BRAULIK] Wien 1977) 99-109 = DERS., *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur I* (SBAB 8; Stuttgart 1990) 363-378.

⁽²⁾ N. LOHFINK, "Kennt das Alte Testament einen Unterschied zwischen 'Gebot' und 'Gesetz'? Zur bibeltheologischen Einstufung des Dekalogs", *JBTh* 4 (1989) 77.

⁽³⁾ LOHFINK, "Dekaloganfang", 378.

Rahmen der allgemeinen Dekalogproblematik (Verhältnis der beiden Fassungen in Ex 20 und Dtn 5 zueinander; Frage eines Urdekalgos; Erklärung des formalen Mischgebildes; Zehnernorm und Gebotsanzahl etc.)⁽⁴⁾ hinaus der theologische Horizont der Entstehung dieser Formulierungen anvisiert. Insofern stellt eine erneute Behandlung des Dekaloganfangs zugleich einen Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der dtn Theologie dar.

I. Privilegrecht und Dekalog – eine Strukturanalogie

Die Rede vom "Dekaloganfang" setzt bei der traditionellen Untergliederung des Dekalogs ein. Die dreigliedrige Struktur von Selbstvorstellung (Ex 20,2//Dtn 5,6), begründetem Hauptgebot⁽⁵⁾ (Ex 20,3-6//Dtn 5,7-10) und Einzelgeboten (Ex 20,7-17//Dtn 5,11-21) kann den Einstieg in die anstehende Problematik bieten, weil sich für diese dreigliedrige Struktur des Dekalogs im AT selbst eine Parallele, und zwar im sogenannten Privilegrecht von Ex 34, findet. Dieses Privilegrecht wird zumeist in seinem Umfang auf Ex 34,10-26 begrenzt⁽⁶⁾, jedoch erweisen sich auch schon die VV. 6-7 als zum Privilegrecht gehörend und dieses einleitend, wenn man den besonderen Charakter der VV. 8-11 als Fortschreibung des Vorausgehenden wahrnimmt, so daß der Blick für die Verbindung von Ex 34,6-7 und Ex 34,12-26 frei wird⁽⁷⁾.

Das Privilegrecht beginnt in den VV. 6-7 mit einer Vorstellung des Gottes JHWH. Fortgesetzt wird es von der Hauptgebotsforderung, sich vor keinem anderen Gott niederzuwerfen (V. 14a). Diese

⁽⁴⁾ Vgl. F.-L. HOSSFELD-K. BERGER, "Dekalog", *Neues Bibellexikon I* (Hrsg. M. GÖRG-B. LANG) 400-405; E. OTTO, "Alte und neue Perspektiven der Dekalogforschung", *EvErz* 42 (1990) 125-133; L. PERLITT, "Dekalog I", *TRE* 8, 408-413.

⁽⁵⁾ Hauptgebot meint hier und im folgenden undifferenziert das "Fremdgötterverbot" bzw. seine im Dekalog zu findende Verbindung mit dem "Bilderverbot"; unberücksichtigt bleibt dabei die mögliche Umverteilung der Gewichte durch Komposition im Dekalog in Richtung auf den Sabbat als "Hauptgebot", vgl. dazu N. LOHFINK, "Zur Dekalogfassung von Dt 5", *BZ* 9 (1965) 17-32 = DERS., *Studien I*, 193-209, hier bes. 203-204.

⁽⁶⁾ Zur Gesamtdiskussion um das Privilegrecht vgl. J. HALBE, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26. Gestalt und Wesen, Herkunft und Wirken in vordeuteronomischer Zeit* (FRLANT 114; Göttingen 1975).

⁽⁷⁾ Zur Begründung dieser Abgrenzung vgl. C. DOHMEN, "Der Sinai-bund als Neuer Bund nach Ex 19-34", *Der Neue Bund im Alten* (Hrsg. E. ZENGER) (QD 146; Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1993) 51-83.

selbst wird wieder durch den nachfolgenden Hinweis auf JHWHs Eifersucht begründet (V. 14b) und durch die vorausgehende Warnung eingeleitet, mit den Bewohnern des Landes keinen Bund zu schließen (in V. 12), weil dies zur Fremdgötterverehrung führen kann⁽⁸⁾. Sodann finden sich in den VV. 18-26 — (mehrfach) überarbeitet und ergänzt — die Einzelbestimmungen dieses Privilegrechts. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang interessieren vom Privilegrecht nur die ersten beiden Teile, die sich wie folgt darstellen:

Ex 34

- V. 6 JHWH ist JHWH,
 ein barmherziger und gnädiger Gott,
 langmütig und von großer Gnade und Treue.
- V. 7 Er bewahrt tausenden Generationen Gnade,
 er nimmt Schuld, Frevel und Sünde weg,
 aber er spricht nicht einfach frei,
 er prüft (vielmehr) die Schuld der Väter
 an den Söhnen und Enkeln,
 an der dritten und vierten Generation.
- V. 12* Hüte dich, daß du keinen Bund schließt
 mit dem Bewohner des Landes,
 in das du kommst,
- V. 14 denn du sollst dich nicht niederwerfen
 vor einem anderen Gott,
 denn JHWH, Eifersüchtiger ist sein Name,
 ein eifersüchtiger Gott ist er.

Achtet man auf die wichtigsten Elemente, die im Privilegrecht und im Dekalog gemeinsam vorkommen, dann deutet sich schon an, daß beide theologisch und literarhistorisch eng miteinander verbunden sind. Als solche gemeinsamen Elemente sind zu nennen: die Huldformel in Ex 34,7 und in Ex 20,5-6//Dtn 5,9-10, sodann das Niederwerfen vor anderen Göttern (Ex 34,14 und Ex 20,3.5//Dtn 5,7.9) sowie schließlich die Rede von JHWHs Eifersucht (Ex 34,14

⁽⁸⁾ Vgl. C. DOHMEN, "‘Eifersüchtiger ist sein Name’ (Ex 34,14). Ursprung und Bedeutung der alttestamentlichen Rede von Gottes Eifersucht", *TZ* 46 (1990) 292-295.

und Ex 20,5//Dtn 5,9). Jedoch zeigen auch die Differenzen bei aller Gemeinsamkeit dieser drei Elemente, daß zwischen beiden Teilen nicht schlichte Übernahme besteht, sondern eine weitergehende Interpretation in verändertem Kontext stattgefunden hat. Nicht nur das Plus im Textumfang beim Dekalog legt die literarhistorische Priorität des Privilegrechts nahe, sondern vor allem die Zuordnung einzelner Wendungen und Aussagen zu verwandten alttestamentlichen Texten und Traditionen (z.B. bei 'él 'aher von Ex 34,14 oder auch die je unterschiedlich verbundene Rede von JHWHs Eifersucht). Allem anderen voran weist die redaktionskritische Analyse der Sinaiperikope ⁽⁹⁾ auf den Weg vom Privilegrecht zum Dekalog, näherhin der Dekalogfassung von Dtn 5 ⁽¹⁰⁾, hin.

⁽⁹⁾ Vgl. zur redaktionskritischen Einordnung der Gesetzescorpora, Dekalog, Bundesbuch und Privilegrecht, in der Sinaiperikope DOHMEN, "Sinaibund", bes. 63-75.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Die literarhistorische Priorität der Dtn-Fassung des Dekalogs gegenüber der Ex-Fassung ergibt sich aufgrund zahlreicher Detailbeobachtungen, vgl. F.-L. HOSSFELD, *Der Dekalog*. Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen (OBO 45; Freiburg/Göttingen 1982) und wird durch die in der vorausgehenden Anmerkung genannte Analyse der Sinaiperikope bestätigt. Zur Gegenposition und zur Diskussion vgl. u.a. C. LEVIN, "Der Dekalog am Sinai", *VT* 35 (1985) 165-191; A. GRAUPNER, "Zum Verhältnis der beiden Dekalogfassungen Ex 20 und Dtn 5", *ZAW* 99 (1987) 308-329; W. JOHNSTONE, "The Decalogue and the Redaction of the Sinai Pericope in Exodus", *ZAW* 100 (1988) 361-385; F.-L. HOSSFELD, "Zum synoptischen Vergleich der Dekalogfassungen. Eine Fortführung des begonnenen Gesprächs", *Vom Sinai zum Horeb*. Stationen alttestamentlicher Glaubensgeschichte (Hrsg. F.-L. HOSSFELD) (Würzburg 1989) 73-117 (dort weitere Lit.); R. ACHENBACH, *Israel zwischen Verheißung und Gebot*. Literarkritische Untersuchungen zu Deuteronomium 5-11 (EHS XXIII/422; Frankfurt-Bern-New York-Paris 1991). Der jüngste Versuch von Achenbach vermag jedoch am wenigsten zu überzeugen, weil er nicht nur die komplexe Redaktionsgeschichte der Sinaiperikope ausblendet, sondern darüber hinaus Hypothesen auf Hypothesen baut, die letztlich auf das Konstrukt eines Ur-Dekalogs hinauslaufen: "Das 'Zitat' des Dekalogs in Dtn. 5 setzt dessen (heils-)geschichtlichen Ursprungsort am Sinai/Horeb schon voraus. Die Unterschiede zwischen der Exodus- und der Dtn.- Version beruhen einerseits darauf, daß bei der Einschreibung in das Dtn. eine ältere als die jetzt im Exodusbuch durch spätere Bearbeitung fortentwickelte Fassung vorlag, zum anderen auf den jeweiligen Fortschreibungen und Bearbeitungen im Kontext der beiden Textkomplexe Ex. 19-34 bzw. Dtn. 5-11" (40).

II. Barmherzigkeit, Strafgerechtigkeit und Eifersucht Gottes

Will man den Dekaloganfang genauer verstehen, so hat man folglich die Art der Verarbeitung — Aufnahme und Kombination — der Teile von Ex 34 ebenso zu beachten wie man die Herkunft der Teile, die im Dekalog über Ex 34 hinaus begegnen, zu erklären hat. Zur Verdeutlichung der nachfolgenden Analyse der Dekalogeröffnung wird hier dem Text von Dtn 5,6-10 der Text der erarbeiteten Fassung des Privilegrechts (Ex 34,6-7.12*.14; s.o.) an die Seite gestellt:

Textblock I

Privilegrecht Ex 34,6-7.12*.14		Dekalog Dtn 5,6-10
6 יהוה יהוה	6	אנכי יהוה אלהיך
אל רחום וחנון		אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים
ארץ אפים ורב-חסד ואמת		מבית עבדים
7 נצר חסד לאלפים	7	לא יהיה-לך אלהים אחרים על-פני
נשא עון ופשע וחטאה	8	לא-תעשה-לך פסל
ונקה לא ינקה		כל-תמונה
פקד עון אבות על-בנים		אשר בשמים ממעל
ועל-בני בנים על-שלשים		ואשר בארץ מתחת
ועל-רבעים		ואשר במים מתחת לארץ
12 השמר לך פן-תכרת ברית	9	לא-תשתחוה להם ולא תעבדם
ליושב הארץ		כי אנכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנא
אשר אתה בא עליה		פקד עון אבות על-בנים
14 כי לא תשתחוה לאל אחר	10	ועל-שלשים ועל-רבעים לשנאי
כי יהוה קנא שמו		ועשה חסד לאלפים
אל קנא הוא		לאהבי ולשמרי מצותו

Zuallererst fällt dabei der Blick auf die Beschreibung JHWHs im Kopfteil des Privilegrechts (Ex 34,6-7). Sie findet sich in variierendem Umfang mehrfach im AT wieder⁽¹¹⁾. In den vielfältigen Analysen dieser Formel(n)⁽¹²⁾ scheint ein Aspekt weitestgehend

⁽¹¹⁾ Vgl. Ex 34,6; Joel 2,13; Jon 4,2; Ps 86,15; 103,8; 145,8; Neh 9,17 sowie die "Variationen" in Ex 20,5-6//Dtn 5,9-10; Ex 22,26; 33,19; Num 14,18; Dtn 4,31; 7,9-10; Jes 48,9; 54,7-8; 63,7; Jer 15,15; 30,11; 32,18; 46,28; Mi 7,18; Nah 1,2-3; Ps 78,38; 86,5; 99,8; 111,4; 116,5; Dan 9,4; Neh 1,5; 9,31-32; 2 Chr 30,9.

⁽¹²⁾ Vgl. bes. R. C. DENTAN, "The Literary Affinities of Exodus XXXIV 6f.", VT 13 (1963) 34-51; J. SCHARBERT, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f. und seiner Parallelen", Bib 38 (1957) 130-150; L. SCHMIDT, »De Deo«. Studien zur Literarkritik und Theologie des Buches Jona, des Gesprächs zwischen Abraham und Jahwe in Gen 18,22ff. und von

unbeachtet geblieben zu sein, der aber für die Beurteilung von Alter und/oder literarischer Abhängigkeit nicht unwesentlich ist: In Ex 34 findet sich neben der "Gnadenformel" ⁽¹³⁾ von V.6 in V.7 eine "Regel" ⁽¹⁴⁾, die das göttliche Übermaß der in seiner Vergebungsbereitschaft greifbaren Gnade zum Ausdruck bringt im Gegenüber zur Notwendigkeit des Strafens ⁽¹⁵⁾, welche selbst aber wieder mit dem immer als Versöhnungsangebot aufzufassenden Strafaufschub verbunden bleibt. Der theologische Ursprungsort dieses Gedankens vom göttlichen Ungleichgewicht von Barmherzigkeit und Strafgerechtigkeit, der in Ex 34 per Stichwortassoziation (*hesed*) als Erklärung der Gnadenformel angeschlossen wird, mag wohl beim Propheten Hosea zu finden sein ⁽¹⁶⁾. Seine Ausprägung findet dieser Gedanke aber im Horizont eben dieser Regel als Weiterführung des Dekalogs zum Beispiel in Jer 32,18 oder Num 14,18. Da aber nur der Dekalog diese "Regel" mit der Aussage von der Eifersucht JHWHs kombiniert, woraus sich sodann die von allen anderen Belegen abweichende Folge von Strafgerechtigkeit gegenüber Barmherzigkeit im Dekalog erklärt, läßt sich Ex 34,6-7 nicht in die Wirkungsgeschichte des Dekalogs einordnen. Vielmehr deutet vieles darauf hin, daß der Dekalog in diesem Punkt von Ex 34,6-7 her kommt.

Der Dekalog wählt zum Abschluß seines die Alleinverehrung JHWHs beschreibenden Kopfteils in V.9 eine Formulierung des Ge-

Hi 1 (BZAW 143; Berlin-New York 1976) 89-96; H. SPIECKERMANN, "Barmherzig und gnädig ist der Herr ...", ZAW 102 (1990) 1-18.

⁽¹³⁾ So SPIECKERMANN, "Barmherzig", 3.

⁽¹⁴⁾ In Aufnahme von R. RENDTORFF, "Geschichtliches und weisheitliches Denken im Alten Testament", *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie* (FS W. Zimmerli; [Hrsg. H. DONNER u.a.] Göttingen 1977) 350, der davon spricht, "daß die Erfahrungen, in denen der Glaube gründet, auch in 'Regeln' gefaßt werden konnten" und dazu als Beispiel Ex 34,6-7 anführt, soll im folgenden bei Ex 34,7 von der "Regel" gesprochen werden.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Zu der hier vorausgesetzten Interpretation von hebr. *pqd* "heimsuchen, überprüfen" vgl. A. SCHENKER, *Versöhnung und Widerstand*. Bibeltheologische Untersuchung zum Strafen Gottes und der Menschen, besonders im Lichte von Exodus 21-22 (SBS 139; Stuttgart 1990) 85-87.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Vgl. F.-L. HOSSFELD, "Wie sprechen die Heiligen Schriften, insbesondere das Alte Testament, von der Vorsehung Gottes?", *Vorsehung und Handeln Gottes* (Hrsg. T. SCHNEIDER-L. ULLRICH) (QD 115; Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1988) 79-80 mit Hinweis auf Hos 11,8-9 im Rückgriff auf J. JEREMIAS, *Die Reue Gottes* (BSt 65; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975).

dankes vom "eifersüchtigen Gott", die er als Apposition zu der den ersten Teil der Dekalogeröffnung (Dtn 5,6-9a) rahmenden Selbstvorstellung JHWHs stellt, um von dem "nichtssagenden" JHWH-Namen zu einer inhaltlichen Aussage über die Wirkweise dieses Gottes⁽¹⁷⁾ zu kommen. Die Wiederholung des Eröffnungssatzes in einem Begründungssatz macht diese Rahmung und gleichzeitige "Überleitung" deutlich:

Dtn 5,6-9

Ich bin JHWH, dein Gott

(...)

Du sollst dich nicht vor ihnen niederwerfen
und dich nicht dazu bringen lassen, ihnen zu dienen,
denn *ich bin JHWH, dein Gott*,
ein eifersüchtiger Gott,
(...)

Diese Kombination von JHWH-Namen und 'ēl-qannā'-Aussage findet sich schon im Zentrum der Hauptgebotsformulierung des Privilegts (Ex 34,14), so daß die im Dekalog zu findende Verbindung von Eifersucht Gottes mit der Regel vom Übergewicht der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit am einfachsten vom gemeinsamen Ursprungsort beider Elemente (Ex 34) her zu erklären ist. Die umgekehrte Erklärung der Verbindung von Ex 34,6-7 und Dtn 5 (und auch Dtn 7), die davon ausgeht, daß die Gnadenformel erst nachdem sie durch den Gedanken der Vergeltung (Dtn 7) und den der Heimsuchung (Dtn 5) verdrängt worden sei, in Ex 34 zur Geltung gekommen ist⁽¹⁸⁾, ist wesentlich schwieriger und unwahrscheinlicher als die Vorordnung von Ex 34 vor Dtn 5 und Dtn 7. Die Hypothesenlast zeigt sich vor allem darin, daß eine sehr frühe Verbindung von Gnadenformel und Rede vom eifersüchtigen Gott ebenso postu-

⁽¹⁷⁾ Vgl. HOSSFELD, "Heilige Schriften", 80: "Jahwe gibt keine Beschreibung von seinem Sein für sich, sondern von seinem Sein für andere. Seine Erfahrung aus der Begegnungsgeschichte mit den Menschen gießt er in diese 'Regel'".

⁽¹⁸⁾ So SPIECKERMANN, "Barmherzig", 8: "Soweit ersichtlich kommt die Auseinandersetzung mit der Gnadenformel innerhalb der deuteronomistischen Theologie in dem (nach)exilisch-spätdeuteronomistischen Text Ex 34,1-28 zum Abschluß".

liert werden muß⁽¹⁹⁾ wie die Verkündigung der “Bewahrung von Jahwes Gnadenreichtum für die Tausende ‘ohne des Gesetzes Werke’, genauer: ohne explizite Ermahnung zur Gesetzesobservanz (vgl. dagegen Dtn 5,10)”⁽²⁰⁾. Wie in Ex 34 die “Regel” unmittelbar an die Gnadenformel anschließt und sich als Auslegung der Barmherzigkeit JHWHs (Ex 34,6b) erweist, so wird die umgestellte “Regel” im Dekalog zur Auslegung der Eifersucht Gottes.

Die Funktion dieses Stückes nach der die Eröffnung rahmenden Formulierung *’ānokî JHWH ’ēlohēkā* in Dtn 5,9 erschöpft sich nicht darin, die die Ausschließlichkeitsforderung in Ex 34 zum Ausdruck bringende Aussage von der Eifersucht Gottes noch unterzubringen; denn sonst müßte man sich auch fragen, warum die so wichtige Gnadenformel nicht noch “untergebracht” wird. Vielmehr gelingt mit diesem Stück die Überleitung zu den Einzelgeboten des Dekalogs, was nun im einzelnen aufgezeigt werden muß.

Dazu muß zuerst beachtet werden, daß bei der Formulierung der positiven Seite der “Regel” im Dekalog ([ein Gott:] “erweisend tausend Generationen Gnade, wo immer man mich liebt und seine⁽²¹⁾ Gebote beachtet”) die Erwähnung der Schuld, die sich in Ex 34,7a in der Form der umfassenden Vergebungsbereitschaft JHWHs (“er bewahrt tausend Generationen Gnade, er nimmt Schuld, Frevel und Sünde weg”) findet, nicht begegnet. Eine Erklärung für diese Beobachtung läßt sich hinter den über Ex 34 hinausgehenden Partizipien (*l’šonay; l’oh’bay ūl’šomrē mišwōtāw*) erahnen; denn das V. 10 abschließende *mišwōt* ist — folgt man dem Sprachgebrauch

⁽¹⁹⁾ Vgl. SPIECKERMANN, “Barmherzig”, 8, Anm. 21.

⁽²⁰⁾ SPIECKERMANN, “Barmherzig”, 10: “Nicht von ungefähr hat die Gnadenformel ihren weiteren Weg ohne das Gesetz — jedenfalls ohne explizite Verbindung mit dem Gesetz — gemacht, während sie dem Gedanken der Sündenvergebung noch eine Weile dienstbar geblieben ist” (10). Darf man die Verbindung von Gesetz und Gnadenformel in Dtn 5,10 so eng begrenzen, oder muß man nicht im Kontext beachten, daß Dtn 5,10 mit dem Gesetz verbindet, um den Dekalog mit dem Gesetz, nämlich dem des Dtn (bes. Dtn 6*.12-16*), zu verbinden (dazu weiter unten)?

⁽²¹⁾ Die in der Formulierung von Dtn 5,10 auftretende Spannung von “mich” (liebt) und “seine” (Gebote beachtet) hängt mit der Einbindung in den Kontext des Dekalog zusammen, dessen erster Teil bis zum V. 10 in der 1. Pers. von JHWH redet, der dann folgende Teil ab V. 11 jedoch in der 3. Pers., so daß man bei der vorliegenden Mischform den Eindruck hat, sie wolle dem Leser den Übergang erleichtern oder diesen vorbereiten.

des Dtn — auf die Dekaloggebote selbst zu beziehen⁽²²⁾, und in Verbindung mit dem syntaktisch parallel gesetzten Partizip von 'hb läßt sich weitergehend präzisieren und semantisch dahingehend differenzieren, daß das *šmr mišwôt* hier auf die nachfolgenden Einzelgebote blickt, während 'hb das vorausgehende Hauptgebot, den Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch, im Blick hat⁽²³⁾. Folglich stellt der Doppelausdruck ('*oh^abay* und *šomrê mišwôtāw*) so etwas wie ein Scharnier an dieser Nahtstelle des Dekalogs dar, das die als breitbegründetes Hauptgebot ausgebaute Eröffnung (Dtn 5,6-10) mit den nachfolgenden Einzelgeboten verbindet.

Es stellt sich nun aber die Frage, wie sich das Partizip von Dtn 5,9, das semantisch die Opposition zu Dtn 5,10 bildet, in diese Deutung der Funktion der Partizipien von Dtn 5,10 als Überleitung und Verbindung von Eröffnungsteil und Einzelgeboten des Dekalogs fügt. Die häufig zu findende rein literarhistorische Erklärung, die Partizipien von Dtn 5,9-10 seien als Nachtrag von Dtn 7,8-11 her zu werten⁽²⁴⁾, läßt zum einen die entscheidende Differenz außer acht, daß Dtn 7 die positive und die negative Seite von der Gesetzesbeobachtung her in den Blick nimmt (vgl. Dtn 7,9.11), während Dtn 5,9-10 dies nur bei der positiven Seite tut, sodann ist zum anderen in Dtn 5,9-10 auch keine Rede von "Haß und Liebe des eifersüchtigen Gottes"⁽²⁵⁾, und es findet genau gesehen auch keine Korrektur der Vergeltungslehre in dem Sinne statt, daß "die Partizipien (...) nun das Wirken Jahwes an jeder einzelnen Generation, insofern sie haßt oder liebt (beschreiben)"⁽²⁶⁾, weil dies sich logisch gar nicht mit der aus der "Regel" stammenden Wirkung verbinden läßt. Die Korrektur wäre aber nur durch vollständige Ersetzung denkbar; denn

(22) Vgl. G. BRAULIK, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium", *Bib* 52 (1971) 20-33 = DERS., *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomium* (SBAB 2; Stuttgart 1988) 11-38, hier bes. 28.

(23) Vgl. N. LOHFINK, "Gott im Buch Deuteronomium", *La notion biblique de Dieu* (Hrsg. J. COPPENS) (BETL 41; Löwen 1976) 101-125 = DERS., *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur II* (SBAB 12; Stuttgart 1991) 25-53, hier 35.

(24) So HOSSFELD, *Dekalog*, 275 und im Anschluß daran auch G. BRAULIK, "Das Deuteronomium und die Geburt des Monotheismus", *Gott, der einzige* (Hrsg. E. HAAG) (QD 104; Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1985) 115-159 = DERS., *Studien*, 257-300, hier 276 und ebenso SPIECKERMANN, "Barmherzig", 5-6.

(25) BRAULIK, "Das Deuteronomium", 276.

(26) HOSSFELD, *Dekalog*, 275.

wie soll die Begrenzung auf die jeweilige Generation zu denken sein, wenn die Wirkung sich auf die dritte und vierte beziehungsweise die tausendste Generation bezieht? Die "Individualisierung" in bezug auf die einzelne Generation würde schlichtweg die Aufhebung der Wirkung bedeuten, davon steht aber an dieser Stelle nichts. Auszugehen ist vielmehr von der Grundaussage der "Regel", dem Ungleichgewicht von göttlichem Gnadenhandeln und göttlicher Prüfung⁽²⁷⁾ der menschlichen Schuld. Diese Wirkung des göttlichen Ungleichgewichtes wendet der Dekalog nun auf die "Gott-Liebenden" und "Gott-Hassenden" an. Das bedeutet, daß das jeweilige menschliche Verhalten in der Beziehung Gott-Mensch das nach Ex 34,6-7 für JHWH typische Verhalten bestimmt oder anstößt.

Dies bestätigt auch noch der Wechsel beim gewählten Verb zwischen Ex 34,7 und Dtn 5,10. Steht dort *nšr* "bewahren", um das in der Gnadenformel als *Wesenszug* formulierte *hesed*-Handeln in seiner bleibenden Auswirkung zu beschreiben, so wird hier das aktive Tun — durch *šh* ausgedrückt — gesehen, das denjenigen gilt, die "ihn lieben und seine Gebote beachten". Die Erklärung, die Partizipien von Dtn 5,9-10 seien Ergänzungen, die aus Dtn 7,8-11 kommen, greift folglich viel zu kurz. Demgegenüber liegt es näher, Dtn 7,8-11 vom Dekalog her zu erklären. Müssen die im Dekalog gebrauchten Partizipien aber deshalb nun als spezifisches Eigengut des Dekalog erklärt werden oder lassen sich eventuell auch noch andere Vorläufer für diese Formulierungen entdecken, die den Dekalogtext geprägt haben? Sprachstatistik hilft auch an dieser Stelle nicht weiter, weil es außer Dtn 7,9-10 keine Parallele für das Gegensatzpaar *'hb* + *šmr mišwôt* neben *šnh* mit JHWH als Objekt beider Aussagen außer Dtn 7,9-10 mehr gibt. Jedoch hatte schon 1963 W. L. Moran auf die Verbindung von Dtn 5,10 mit Dtn 6,(4).5 und 6,17 hingewiesen, die er allerdings so deutete, daß die Einheit von Dtn 6,5.17 im Dekalogtext begründet liege⁽²⁸⁾. Die komplexe Frage nach Alter und Schichtung von Dtn 6 — samt der Problematik eines hier anzusetzenden Grundbestandes des Dtn — kann einmal zurückgestellt

(27) Zur Übersetzung vgl. SCHENKER, *Versöhnung*, 85, Anm. 156.

(28) Vgl. W. L. MORAN, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy", *CBQ* 25 (1963) 77-87. Dazu weitergehend N. LOHFINK, *Das Hauptgebot*. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11 (AnBib 20; Rom 1963) 164.

werden⁽²⁹⁾, denn unabhängig davon in welche Richtung man Abhängigkeiten annimmt, zeigt sich eindeutig zwischen Dtn 5,10 und Dtn 6,4.5.17 eine Intertextualität, die beide Texte so aufeinander bezieht, daß der eine jeweils vom anderen interpretiert werden will. Für das anstehende Problem heißt das, daß der Dekalogtext durch die Partizipien von V. 10 mit dem Text des nachfolgenden Kapitels Dtn 6 verklammert wird⁽³⁰⁾. In dieser Erklärung findet dann auch die Kombination der Partizipien von *śnh* und *'hb* problemlos ihren Platz, denn die Aufnahme der "Regel" von Ex 34 mit einer positiven und einer negativen Seite in den Dekalog setzt die Basis der Gegenüberstellung bereits voraus. Die an der Verbindung mit (oder Einbindung in) Dtn 6* interessierte Ergänzung hat die zweite Seite dann ganz einfach mit Hilfe des gängigen Oppositums zu *'hb*⁽³¹⁾ ergänzt. Daraus erklären sich auch, daß die negative Seite allgemeiner und in ihrer Zielrichtung unbestimmter bleibt als die positive.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich also beobachten, daß der abschließende Teil der Dekalogeröffnung zum einen von Ex 34 her kommt und zum anderen durch den Kontext des Dekalogs im Dtn bestimmt ist. Zu fragen ist nun, ob sich diese Sicht auch beim ersten Teil der Dekalogeröffnung bestätigt.

III. Die Alleinverehrung des bildlosen Gottes JHWH

Auf den ersten Blick stammt lediglich das Verbot des Niederwerfens (*lo'-tištaḥ^aweh*) in Dtn 5,9 aus Ex 34; wenn man nicht das einleitende *'ānoki JHWH* aus dem Nominalsatz *JHWH JHWH* in Ex 34,6 ableiten will⁽³²⁾; gleichwohl dieses Verbot des Nieder-

⁽²⁹⁾ Vgl. zu einem möglichen Grundbestand in Dtn 6 LOHFINK, "Gott", 33, Anm. 30, sowie G. BRAULIK, "Gesetz als Evangelium. Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomischen Tora", *ZTK* 79 (1982) 127-160 = *Studien*, 123-160, hier 142; DERS., "Das Deuteronomium", 260, 264 bes. Anm. 32, ACHENBACH, *Israel*, 65-211.

⁽³⁰⁾ Ähnliches zeigt sich in bezug auf die später erfolgte Verbindung von Dtn 4 mit dem Dekalog durch die Aufnahme des Begriffs *ʾēmūnāh* aus Dtn 4,12 in Dtn 5,8 sowie der Kombination des Dekalogausdrucks *pesel* mit *ʾēmūnāh* in Dtn 4 zur Verklammerung beider Kapitel, vgl. C. DOHMEN, *Das Bilderverbot*. Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im Alten Testament (BBB 62; Frankfurt 1987) 200-230.

⁽³¹⁾ Vgl. E. JENNI, "*śn'*, hassen", *THAT* II, 835.

⁽³²⁾ Was allerdings möglich ist, weil das Privilegrecht von Ex 34 durchgängig in der 3. Pers. von JHWH spricht, während beim Dekalog — zumin-

werfens ein komplexes Hauptgebot aus Fremdgötter- und Bilderverbot im Dekalog schon zusammenfaßt⁽³³⁾ und diese Verbindung durch nachfolgendes *ʿbd* noch präzisiert wird, so daß die gegenüber Ex 34 zusätzlichen Elemente deutlich das Übergewicht in Dtn 5 bilden. Jedoch weist das hier als *Hofal* vokalisierte *ʿbd*, dessen Bedeutung meist heruntergespielt oder sogar geleugnet wird⁽³⁴⁾, wiederum auf den Kontext von Ex 34 zurück; denn *ʿbd Hofal* spielt ganz deutlich auf die "Verführung" zum Kult fremder Götter⁽³⁵⁾ an und hat insofern einen engen Konnex zum sogenannten Bündnisverbot, das auch schon in Ex 34,12 als Voraussetzung der Hauptgebotsformulierung genannt ist⁽³⁶⁾ und in einer späteren Erweiterung in Ex 34,15-16 dann sogar noch eigens thematisiert wird.

Das Bilderverbot, das den zweiten Teil des kombinierten Hauptgebotes im Kopfteil des Dekalogs bildet und auf das das "Kultverbot" von Dtn 5,9a auch bezogen ist, hat keinerlei Anknüpfungspunkt in Ex 34⁽³⁷⁾. Es ist in der vorliegenden Form von Dtn 5,8 deutlich mit dem vorausgehenden — wohl erst später hinzugekommenen — Kontext von Dtn 4 verbunden worden; zum einen durch das *kōl-ʿemûnâh*, zum anderen durch die nachfolgenden *ʿašer*-Sätze⁽³⁸⁾. Sein Kernstück, der Kurzprohibitiv *lo-taʿšeh-lēkā pesel*,

dest im Kopfteil — *JHWH selbst* in der 1. Pers. redet. Dies mag beim Dekalog aber schon als Aufnahme von Ex 34 zu werten sein, denn der narrative Kontext stellt vor allem durch das *wayyiqraʾ* in V. 6a, dessen Subjekt wohl JHWH ist, das — wahrscheinlich ältere — Privilegrecht als JHWH-Rede dar. Folglich geht der Dekalog nicht von einem isolierten Privilegrecht aus, sondern vom Privilegrecht als Teil der Sinaiperikope, was sich auch durch weitere Beobachtungen (s.u.) bestätigt.

⁽³³⁾ Auf die "Verbindung" der beiden ersten Verbote hat W. ZIMMERLI, "Das zweite Gebot"; DERS., *Gottes Offenbarung* (TBü 19; München 1963) bes. 236-238 schon hingewiesen.

⁽³⁴⁾ Vgl. z.B. H. RINGGREN, "*ʿbd*", *TWAT* V, 992 zum Dekalogverbot: "... sieht wie *hoph* aus, ist aber wohl als *qal* aufzufassen".

⁽³⁵⁾ Vgl. die exakte Übersetzung im *HALAT*, 731: "sich zu jmds. Kult bringen lassen".

⁽³⁶⁾ Hierher passen dann auch die dem nahestehenden *Hofal*-Belege von *ʿbd*, wie Dtn 13,3; Ex 23,24, vgl. dazu LOHFINK, "Dekaloganfang", 377.

⁽³⁷⁾ Ex 34,17 erweist sich aufgrund zahlreicher Argumente (Formulierung, Position) als spätere Ergänzung, die bereits das Bundesbuch in der Sinaiperikope voraussetzt, vgl. DOHMEN, *Bilderverbot*, 180-184.

⁽³⁸⁾ Vgl. im einzelnen DOHMEN, *Bilderverbot*, 200-230; hier kann die viel diskutierte Schichtenfrage von Dtn 4 unberücksichtigt bleiben. Beim Dekalogtext muß man allerdings zwei bzw. drei Bearbeitungsstufen beim

ist sachlich aus der Geschichte von Ex 32 entwickelt worden, sie bildet geradezu die "Geburtsgeschichte" ⁽³⁹⁾ des Bilderverbotes, weil sie erstmals und einmalig für Israel Bildverehrung als Sünde — im Kontext der Sinaiperikope sogar als die alles entscheidende Sünde der Abwendung vom sich hinwendenden Gott — charakterisiert. Ex 32 beschreibt gerade nicht irgendeine Gebotsübertretung, sondern im gegenüber zur Einmaligkeit der Theophanie (Ex 19) wird die Ungeheuerlichkeit der Abwendung vom erscheinenden Gott durch die Herstellung eines Gottesbildes erst- und einmalig als Sünde, näherhin als "große Sünde" ⁽⁴⁰⁾ dargestellt. Dies allein ist die Voraussetzung und Bedingung der Formulierung des genannten Prohibitivs des Dekalogs. Da aber Ex 34 mit dem Privilegrecht im Kontext der JE-Sinaiperikope die Antwort JHWHs auf die Sünde des Volkes von Ex 32 ist ⁽⁴¹⁾, heißt dies für die anstehende Frage, daß der Kontext, der als Bezug beziehungsweise Ausgangspunkt der Dekalogfassung untersucht wird, weiterzufassen ist, zumindest von Ex 32 bis Ex 34 ⁽⁴²⁾. Darüber hinaus ist das Bilderverbot von der Sache her natürlich gar nicht ohne den Gedanken der geforderten Ausschließlichkeit der JHWH-Verehrung, wie er zum Beispiel im Zentrum des Hauptgebotes von Ex 34,14 steht, zu denken.

Das Verbot, andere Götter zu verehren, begegnet im Dekalog aber als ein Teil der Eröffnung in sprachlich eigener Form gegenüber Ex 34,14. Die Besonderheiten und Probleme der Formulierung des Fremdgötterverbotes im Dekalog sind oft behandelt worden ⁽⁴³⁾,

Bilderverbot ansetzen, was nicht zuletzt auch von der Parallelversion in Ex 20 mit ihrem zusätzlichen *waw* bei *köl-remûnâh* bestätigt wird.

⁽³⁹⁾ Vgl. C. DOHMEN, "Religion gegen Kunst? Liegen die Anfänge der Kunstfeindlichkeit in der Bibel?", ...*kein Bildnis machen*. Kunst und Theologie im Gespräch (Hrsg. C. DOHMEN-T. STERNBERG) (Würzburg ²1987) 17-19.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Zum Begriff "große Sünde" und der mit ihm verbundenen Deutung der Geschichte von Ex 32 vgl. DOHMEN, "Sinaibund", 58, Anm. 24.

⁽⁴¹⁾ "JHWH selbst gibt nun als Hilfe für die Schwachheit des Volkes Gebote (Ex 34), wodurch das Gesetz eine kaum zu überbietende positive Konnotation erhält, da durch Gebotsbeachtung dem Volk selbst die Verwirklichung und Sichtbarmachung der Hinwendung Gottes zu ihm anheimgestellt wird", DOHMEN, *Bilderverbot*, 141.

⁽⁴²⁾ Es hat sich schon oben (s. bes. Anm. 32) abgezeichnet, daß der Dekalog das Privilegrecht nicht isoliert, sondern von und mit seiner narrativen Einbettung her rezipiert.

⁽⁴³⁾ Vgl. u.a. HOSSFELD, *Dekalog*, 266-267; R. KNIERIM, "Das Erste Gebot", *ZAW* 77 (1965) 20-39; H.-P. MÜLLER, "Gott und Götter in den

wobei an der Erklärungsbedürftigkeit der Singularität dieser Formulierung kaum Zweifel besteht⁽⁴⁴⁾. In Verbindung mit Ex 34,14 stellt sich aber nicht nur die Frage nach dem Plural *'elohîm 'aḥerîm*, sondern auch die Frage nach der abstrakten Formulierung mit *hyh* in der 3. Pers. Singular im Sinne von "haben"⁽⁴⁵⁾, die dann in Verbindung zum abschließenden *'al-pānāy* gesehen werden muß. Die vielfältigen Übersetzungsvorschläge zu diesem *'al-pānāy* (z.B. "neben mir", "mir zum Trotz", "mir zum Nachteil", "mir gegenüber" etc.) hat Knierim ausführlich diskutiert⁽⁴⁶⁾ und aufgrund von Konstruktionsähnlichkeiten zu anderen Konstruktusverbindungen die "öffentliche Aufstellung und Verehrung anderer Götter vor Jahwes Angesicht"⁽⁴⁷⁾ als Lösung favorisiert. Das breite semantische Spektrum, das hebräisch *pānîm* absteckt⁽⁴⁸⁾, verbietet aber die Erklärung auf die Konstruktverbindung *'al-pēnē* zu begrenzen, da man so auf abgeleitete Präpositionalausdrücke reduziert wird⁽⁴⁹⁾. Vielmehr sollte man beim Ausdruck *pānîm* einsetzen und seine möglichen Konstruktionen mit der Präposition *'al* überprüfen. Wenn im Dekalog die *'elohîm 'aḥerîm* in bezug⁽⁵⁰⁾ gesetzt werden zum *pānîm JHWHs*, dann muß man zuallererst wohl an Aussagen denken, die JHWH selbst mit seinem *pānîm* — ganz im Sinne des profanen Sprachgebrauchs, der *pānîm* für die Person selbst⁽⁵¹⁾ setzt — gleichsetzen oder *pānîm* zum Ausdruck der göttlichen Gegenwart gebrau-

Anfängen der biblischen Religion. Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus", *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (Hrsg. O. KEEL) (BB 14; Fribourg 1980) 136-137; L. PERLITT, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (WMANT 36; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969) 84-87; H. GRAF REVENTLOW, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (Gütersloh 1962) 26-28.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ HOSSFELD, *Dekalog*, 267 folgert gar: "Die Singularität des dekalogischen Fremdgötterverbotes spricht für gezielte Abfassung durch einen Autor, der selbst auf Vorgänger blickt, die das Gottesverhältnis auf den Begriff zu bringen versuchen". Vgl. auch LOHFINK, "Dekaloganfang", 376.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Vgl. HALAT, 234.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Vgl. KNIERIM, "Gebot", 24-25.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ KNIERIM, "Gebot", 25.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Vgl. A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, "*pānîm*, Angesicht", *THAT* II, 432-460; H. SIMIAN-YOFRE, "*pānîm*", *TWAT* VI, 629-659.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Zu diesen "Semipräpositionen" vgl. SIMIAN-YOFRE, *TWAT* VI, 651-658.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Die "Grundfunktion" von hebr. *'al* läßt sich am besten durch die "Relation" umschreiben, vgl. C. DOHMEN, "*ʾl-(h)mzbh* — Zur Bedeutung und Verwendung von hebr. *ʾl*", *BN* 16 (1981) 7-10.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Vgl. VAN DER WOUDE, *THAT* II, 440.

chen. Von hierher rückt die Formulierung des Fremdgötterverbotes im Dekalog in die Nähe zu den Aussagen von Ex 33, die das Problem der göttlichen Gegenwart durch seine mit Israel gehende⁽⁵²⁾ *pānīm* zum Ausdruck bringen. Vor allem das älteste Kernstück in Ex 33 in den VV. 12-17, das die Fortsetzung von Ex 32 (V. 34aa) bildet, bringt als Überleitung zu Ex 34 diesen Gedanken ein⁽⁵³⁾. Daß es dabei nicht allein um die Frage der Gegenwart JHWHs am Sinai beziehungsweise sein Mitgehen geht, sondern um das wesentlich tiefergreifende theologische Problem der Gegenwart JHWHs bei seinem sündigen Volk⁽⁵⁴⁾, bestätigt zum einen die Verbindung zum Kopfstück des Privilegrees mit der dort formulierten Barmherzigkeit

⁽⁵²⁾ Zu beachten ist, daß in Ex 33,14.15 nur vom "Gehen", nicht vom "Mit-Gehen" gesprochen wird, erst V. 16 erklärt dieses "Gehen" schließlich als "Mit-Gehen" (*b'lekākā 'immānū*); vgl. insgesamt auch J. REINDL, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments* (EThSt 25; Leipzig 1970) 56-69.

⁽⁵³⁾ Vgl. zur Analyse von Ex 33 E. AURELIUS, *Der Fürbitter Israels. Eine Studie zum Mosebild im Alten Testament* (CB OT 27; Lund 1988) 100-116; wenn der Verweis auf die Ähnlichkeit von Ex 33,12-17 und 2 Sam 7 auch nicht tragfähig genug ist, um darauf die Hypothese zu gründen, daß Ex 33,12-17 einer spätdtr. Bearbeitung zuzuschreiben sei. Verwandtschaften, Ähnlichkeiten oder Übereinstimmungen — sprachlicher oder gedanklicher Art — zwischen verschiedenen Texten beweisen noch nicht den gleichen Verfasser, sondern fordern zuerst einmal den Leser auf, beide Texte zum Verstehen aufeinander zu beziehen. Beim hier zu beachtenden Phänomen von Intertextualität werden die einen Texte in andere Texte "eingespielt" (vgl. dazu K. STIERLE, "Werk und Intertextualität", *Dialog der Texte. Hamburger Kolloquium zur Intertextualität* [Hrsg. W. SCHMID-W.-D. STEMPEL] [Wiener Slawistischer Almanach – Sonderband 11; Wien 1983] 7-26 hier bes. 15). Die Frage, welcher der Texte ursprünglich ist, muß gesondert behandelt werden. Für die anstehende Frage liegt m.E. die Priorität bei Ex 33,12-17, weil das Stück die Verbindung zwischen Texten in Ex 32 und Ex 34 darstellt (so auch Aurelius), die im Gesamtkonzept der Sinai-perikope am besten als jehowistisch zu erklären sind. Somit würde dann auch Ex 33,12-17 in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh. v. Chr. gehören, was bestens zu der von Aurelius beschriebenen Situation paßt: "...in der Situation nach dem Landverlust, unter den der Willkür der Großmächte und dem zornigen Schweigen des eigenen Gottes ausgelieferten Generationen, bei denen gewiß nicht nur ein theoretisches 'Offenbarungs'-Bedürfnis durch die in Moses Mund gelegte Bitte eingefangen wurde: 'Laß mich deine Wege erkennen' (v13)", AURELIUS, *Fürbitter*, 109.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Vgl. R.W.L. MOBERLY, *At the Mountain of God. Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34* (JSOTSS 22; Sheffield 1982) 67; ebenso AURELIUS, *Fürbitter*, 109.

JHWHs, die sich in seiner Vergebungsbereitschaft zeigt, und sodann auch die späteren vielschichtigen Fortschreibungen in Ex 33 sowie in Ex 34,8-10⁽⁵⁵⁾. Aufgrund der bisherigen Beobachtungen zur Rezeption der Sinaiperikope (bes. Ex 34 und Ex 32) im Dekalog legt sich nahe, auch diesen möglichen Bezug zu Ex 33 in bezug auf literarische Abhängigkeiten⁽⁵⁶⁾ zu prüfen. Sollte das *'al-panay* als "in bezug auf meine Gegenwart" von Ex 33 her inspiriert sein, dann wird auch der Plural *'elohîm 'aherîm* verständlich. Nur Ex 34,14 hat in seinem Fremdgötterverbot diesen Ausdruck im Singular (*'ēl 'ahēr*)⁽⁵⁷⁾, während Ex 33,12-17 aber Ex 32 vor Augen hat, und dort ist immer von den vorausziehenden Göttern (V.1.4 *'elohîm*) die Rede. Die Verbindung beider mag die Pluralbildung *'elohîm 'aherîm* bedingt haben. Der Dekalogtext scheint also mit seinem *'elohîm 'aherîm 'al-pānāy* die Quintessenz der Gesamtproblematik von Ex 32-34 herauszustreichen: Die Alleinverehrung JHWHs wird auch und gerade angesichts menschlicher Schwachheiten und Sünden gefordert⁽⁵⁸⁾. Auch die Wahl des Verbums *hyh* paßt sich gut in diese Erklärung einer im Dekalog vorliegenden Kombination aus Ex 32-34 ein. Das in Ex 32 und in Ex 33 gebrauchte Verb *hlk*, mit dem das Problem dort verdeutlicht wurde (*hlk pānîm [JHWH]*), ist für den Dekalog — insofern er den gesamten Kontext von Ex 32-34 voraussetzt — schon durch Ex 34 unbrauchbar gemacht worden. Dies, weil Ex 34 durch das Bündnisverbot mit den Bewohnern des Landes (Ex 34,12) — als Voraussetzung der Hauptgebotsformulierung (Ex 34,14) — die Perspektive in Richtung auf das Leben im Land gewechselt hat, so daß die Frage, welcher Gott vor Israel herziehen beziehungsweise mit Israel ziehen soll, dann obsolet geworden ist, wenn Israel sich im Land befindet. Genau dem trägt der Dekalog Rechnung, wenn er die mögliche Fremdgötterverehrung nicht mehr an die Vorstellung

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Vgl. DOHMEN, "Sinaibund", 66-70.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Die Verbindung zwischen der Dekalogformulierung und Ex 32-34 wird in der Endform der Sinaiperikope — mit vorangestelltem Dekalog in Ex 20 — noch dadurch verstärkt, daß zum Abschluß von Ex 34 in Ex 34,28 der Bogen zum Dekalog zurückgeschlagen wird, vgl. DOHMEN, "Sinaibund", 63-64.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Vgl. HALBE, *Privilegrecht*, 119; LOHFINK, "Dekaloganfang", 376.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Daß Ex 32 im Grundtext nicht vom Bilderverbot ausgeht oder ein solches kreiert, sondern die Abwendung von JHWH an selbstgemachten Göttern verdeutlicht, konnte an anderer Stelle gezeigt werden (DOHMEN, "Religion", 17-21), so daß die "Formulierung" des Bilderverbotes im engen Wortsinn im Dekalog auf der Basis von Ex 32 geschieht (s.o.).

des einen oder anderen Gottes, der vor Israel zieht, bindet⁽⁵⁹⁾. Den Gedanken der Fremdgötterverehrung (durch *hwh*) nimmt der Dekalog aus Ex 34,14 auf und für seinen gesamten Hauptgebotskomplex in Anspruch, darüber hinaus werden alle anderen Möglichkeiten des Fremdgötterkontaktes durch die abstrakte Formulierung mit dem Verb *hyh* in Verbindung mit den genannten Elementen aus Ex 32-34 angeschlossen. Somit läßt sich das Fremdgötterverbot des Dekalog wie folgt wiedergeben: *es darf/kann für dich keine anderen Götter in bezug auf meine Gegenwart geben*, das heißt paraphrasiert: JHWHs Gegenwart ist zusammen mit anderen Göttern nicht zu haben. Das Dreiecksverhältnis einer Beziehung JHWH — andere Götter — Israel, auf das auch das Epitheton *'ēl qannā'* in Ex 34,14 schon anspielt⁽⁶⁰⁾, wird im Fremdgötterverbot des Dekalogs endgültig und in jeder denkbaren Form für unmöglich erklärt. Insofern muß man in der Fremdgötterformulierung des Dekalogs den prägnantesten Ausdruck des Ausschließlichkeitsanspruches erblicken und kann von hierher auch seine prägende Kraft für die dtn/dtr Sprache verstehen⁽⁶¹⁾.

IV. Israel beansprucht durch den Sklavenbefreier

Aber der so formulierte Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch steht auch nicht völlig losgelöst im Dekalog, sondern ist entweder exklusiv und unmittelbar — als Teil eines ersten Gebotes⁽⁶²⁾ — oder wie alle anderen Gebote mittelbar mit der vorausgehenden Aussage zur Befreiungstat JHWHs (Dtn 5,6) verbunden, so daß es abschließend

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Dies mag u.a. ein Grund dafür sein, daß die dtr. Sprache *hlk* in umgekehrter Sichtweise — vom Volk aus betrachtet — zu einem der wichtigsten Begriffe für den Abfall von JHWH in der Wendung *hlk 'aharē* werden läßt, vgl. LOHFINK, *Hauptgebot*, 76-77; F.J. HELFMAYER, "*'aharē*", *TWAT* I, 220-224.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Vgl. DOHMEN, "Eifersüchtiger", 292-297.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Zu den hier bezeugenden verschiedenen Ausdrucksformen des Ausschließlichkeitsanspruches vgl. M. ROSE, *Der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch Jahwes*. Deuteronomische Schultheologie und die Volksfrömmigkeit in der späten Königszeit (BWANT 106; Stuttgart u.a. 1975).

⁽⁶²⁾ Der Bedeutung der hier gesammelten Beobachtungen und vorgebrachten Erklärungen für die jüdisch-christliche Differenz bei der Dekalogeröffnung — jene lassen gleich mit dem 1. Gebot beginnen, während diese eine Präambel annehmen — soll an anderer Stelle nachgegangen werden (s.u. Anm. 73).

gilt, diese auch noch näher im Blick auf ihre Herkunft zu untersuchen. Man kann natürlich annehmen, daß hier ein bekanntes und verbreitetes Theologumenon als Selbstvorstellung des im Dekalog gebietenden Gottes vorangestellt worden sei. Aber im Blick auf Ex 34 und die dort formulierte Eröffnung in VV. 6-7 sowie die insgesamt hier gesammelten Beobachtungen zur Herkunft des Dekaloganfangs muß der Frage nachgegangen werden, warum hier gerade die Befreiung aus Ägypten und beispielsweise nicht eine "Wesensaussage" im Stil von Ex 34,6 thematisiert worden ist.

Im Kontext des bisher festgestellten Bezugstextes (Ex 32-34) zum Dekaloganfang fällt bei der Frage nach der Herausführungsformel sogleich Ex 32 ins Auge, denn dort wird der Anspruch JHWHs auf Israel vom Exodus her entwickelt. Ex 32,1 beschreibt in diesem Sinne den narrativen Ausgangspunkt: Weil das Volk nicht weiß, was mit Mose, der es aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt hat, geschehen ist, bittet es Aaron um Götter, die nun vor ihm herziehen sollen. Doch als dann das Götterbild, der *'egel*, hergestellt ist, gilt dies nicht mehr in der Logik des Anfangs (V. 1) als Gottheit, die *von nun an* vor Israel herziehen soll, sondern die bisherige Führung des Mose, die Heraufführung aus Ägypten, wird geradezu gezeugnet und post festum dem neuen Götterbild zugesprochen, und zwar indem es mit dem perfektisch (!) formulierten Hinweis auf die Heraufführung aus Ägypten eingeführt wird: "Dies sind deine Götter, Israel, die dich aus Ägypten heraufgeführt haben" (V. 4)⁽⁶³⁾. Im Grundtext von Ex 32 ist dies das "aufregende" Moment der Erzählungen, nicht das Faktum der Herstellung eines Gottesbildes. Die in Ex 32 stattfindende Übertragung der Exoduserfahrung von ihrem Ursprung (JHWH und sein Mittler Mose) auf eine andere Gottheit stellt modellhaft die Enthistorisierung und Verallgemeinerung religiöser Erfahrungen dar, die in Ex 32 darauf hinausläuft, den Exodus als allgemeine Heilserfahrung ohne Bezug auf Israels Aufenthalt in Ägypten und JHWHs erwähnendes Handeln zu begreifen.

Gerade zum Kontext des aus Ex 32-34 entwickelten Fremdgötter- und Bilderverbotes im Dekalog paßt es, daß der Dekalog in seiner Eröffnung auf diese in Ex 32 entwickelte Problematik reagiert indem er an das Konkrete des Geschichtlichen auch und gerade in

⁽⁶³⁾ Zum Singular-/Plural-Problem (Gott – Götter) bei dieser "Formel" vgl. H. DONNER, "'Hier sind deine Götter, Israel!'", *Wort und Geschichte* (FS K. Elliger) (AOAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) 45-50.

der Erfahrung der Führung JHWHs festhält und dazu betont, daß diese Führung eine souveräne Tat des Gottes JHWH ist.

Syntax und Deutung der Herausführungsformel(n) sind häufig untersucht worden⁽⁶⁴⁾, wobei sich herauskristallisiert hat, daß aufgrund des Variationsreichtums besser von einer geprägten Vorstellung als von einer Formel zu sprechen ist⁽⁶⁵⁾ und daß die Belege mit *yš' Hifil* jünger sind als die mit *'lh Hifil*, wobei "durch *yš' hiph* mit JHWH als Subjekt (...) also in der Tat dieser Gott stärker als Befreier und Erlöser ausgesagt (wird), als dies bei *hae'aelah* der Fall ist"⁽⁶⁶⁾. Nun hat N. Lohfink schon für die *yš' Hifil*-Formel mit der Apposition *bêt-ʿbādīm* zu Ägypten darauf hingewiesen, daß die Paralleltexte (Dtn 6,12; 8,14; 13,6; 13,11) zu den Texten gehören, die den Dekalog voraussetzen, so daß alles dafür spreche, "daß im Dtn diese Formel 'als Ganze' vom Dekalog her entstanden ist"⁽⁶⁷⁾. Vom Dekalog aus kann man sodann aber aufgrund der beobachteten Exodusaussage von Ex 32 zumindest in Erwägung ziehen, daß in der Reaktion des Dekalogs auf diese "Exodusaussage" von Ex 32 und ihre Problematik (s.o.) der "Übergang" zwischen den beiden "Herausführungsformeln", von der mit *'lh-Hifil* hin zu der mit *yš'-Hifil*, zu suchen ist. Es liegt auf der Linie der oben skizzierten Reaktion des Dekalogs auf Ex 32, daß er die in Ex 32 mit Mose beziehungsweise dem *'egel* als Führung artikulierte Exoduserfahrung als Befreiungstat JHWHs interpretiert und sie dazu als Sklavenbefreiung stilisiert, wobei er einerseits mit der Wahl des Verbums *yš'* semantisch noch nah an der Formulierung mit *'lh* bleibt, andererseits aber durch die Charakterisierung des Landes Ägypten als 'Sklavenhaus' die Akzente deutlich in Richtung Sklavenbefreiung verschiebt⁽⁶⁸⁾. Dieser Gedanke wird schließlich abgerundet durch

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Vgl. W. GROSS, "Die Herausführungsformel – Zum Verhältnis von Formel und Syntax", *ZAW* 86 (1974) 425-453; H. D. PREUSS, "*jš'*", *TWAT* III, 795-822; E. ZENGER, "Funktion und Sinn der ältesten Herausführungsformel", *ZDMG Suppl.* I (1969) 334-342.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ So GROSS, "Herausführungsformel", 45 und im Anschluß daran auch PREUSS, *TWAT* III, 819.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ PREUSS, *TWAT* III, 819.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ LOHFINK, "Dekaloganfang", 375.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Erklärt sich von hier her vielleicht auch die schon besprochene Wahl des Begriffs *ʿbd* in der Verbotformulierung (Dtn 5,9a) als Kontrast zur Befreiungstat JHWHs?

den Eröffnungssatz *'ānokî JHWH 'elohekā*; denn dieser kann ebenso aus den Voraussetzungen von Ex 32–34 erklärt werden. Während das Privilegrecht in Ex 34,6 mit dem theologisch gewichtigen Nominalsatz JHWH (ist) JHWH⁽⁶⁹⁾ beginnt und in seiner konsequent durchgehaltenen Formulierung in der 3. Pers. Singular anzeigt, daß es letztlich nur durch den Kontext (Ex 34) als JHWH-Rede ausgegeben wird (s.o.), ist der Dekalog zumindest in seinem Kopfteil (Dtn 5,6–10) ebenso konsequent als JHWH-Rede in der 1. Pers. gefaßt. Folglich liegt es nicht fern, im *'ānokî JHWH* ganz einfach die sprachliche Umsetzung von Ex 34,6 für die narrative Einbettung in Dtn 5 zu sehen, so daß hier wie dort auf die Programmatik des JHWH-Namens im Horizont des Alleinverehrungsanspruches abgehoben wird⁽⁷⁰⁾. Dies wird durch das zusätzliche *'elohekā* insofern ergänzt, als dies im Konnex mit dem *'ānokî JHWH* an den Ausruf bei der Herstellung des *'egel* in Ex 32,4 anspielt “Dies sind deine Götter, Israel”⁽⁷¹⁾. Dazu paßt schließlich auch, daß die Formel zur Rahmung des gesamten Einleitungsstückes in V. 9b als Begründungssatz mit *kî* wiederholt wird und so zum “Aufhänger” der Aussage vom eifersüchtigen Gott wird (s.o.).

Es hat sich folglich gezeigt, daß der Dekaloganfang ein Substrat der Erzählung von Ex 32–34 ist und dabei insgesamt besonders stark vom Privilegrecht Ex 34,6–7.12*.14.(18–26*) geprägt ist. Im Dekalog verdichtet sich folglich Israels “Sinaitheologie”, und auch das

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Vgl. DOHMEN, “Eifersüchtiger”, 295–296.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Die Verbindung zur Eifersucht JHWHs sieht an dieser Stelle auch K. ELLIGER, “Ich bin der Herr – euer Gott”, DERS., *Kleine Schriften zum Alten Testament* (TBü 32; München 1966) 215–216.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Mit LOHFINK, “Dekaloganfang”, 373–374 ist davon auszugehen, daß hinter der Formulierung JHWH *'elohekā* die Wendung JHWH *'elohē yiśra'ēl* steht. Die Diskussion um die Verbindung von Hos 13,4 (“Ich bin JHWH, dein Gott vom Land Ägypten her. Und einen Gott außer mir kennst du nicht, einen Helfer außer mir gibt es nicht”) mit dem Dekaloganfang müßte vom hier Vorgelegten her unter Aufnahme und Berücksichtigung der (jehowistischen) Sinaiperikope neu aufgenommen werden. Da gerade Spezifika dekalogischer Formulierung in Hos 13,4 fehlen (z.B. *yš'*; *bêt-'abādīm*; *'al-pānāy*), wird man kaum davon ausgehen können, daß hier “nichts anderes als das erste Gebot mitsamt dem Prolog in poetischer Fassung zum Ausdruck kommt.” M. NISSINEN, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch* (AOAT 231; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991) 157.

theologische Konzept des Deuteronomium "Gesetz als Evangelium" ⁽⁷²⁾ wird hier in der Dekalogeröffnung begründet ⁽⁷³⁾.

Für die dtn/dtr Sprache ergibt sich aus dem Beobachteten, daß es gerade der so formulierte Dekalog ist, der sprachprägend für diesen Literaturbereich gewirkt hat.

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SOMMAIRE

Dans le cadre de la discussion sur le début du décalogue et sur sa contexture deutéronomiste, cet article veut montrer que ce début du décalogue (Ex 20,2-6//Dt 5,6-10) résume l'ensemble du récit de Ex 32-34, un texte dont le «privilege» de YHWH («Privilegrecht»: Ex 34,6-7.12*.14.18-26*) forme la partie la plus importante. L'article confirme aussi la thèse selon laquelle la version deutéronomique du décalogue est plus ancienne que celle de Ex 20. En effet, certaines expressions du début du décalogue ne s'expliquent qu'en vertu de leur contact avec d'autres textes du Deutéronome (phénomène d'intertextualité). Ainsi le décalogue est le berceau de plusieurs expressions et phrases deutéronomiques et deutéronomistes.

⁽⁷²⁾ Vgl. BRAULIK, "Gesetz", bes. 159-160.

⁽⁷³⁾ Dazu und zur weitergehenden theologischen Interpretation des Dekaloganfangs vgl. C. DOHMEN, "Freiheit für Israel oder Gesetz für alle Völker? Die Geltungsfrage des Dekalogs im Horizont des jüdisch-christlichen Verhältnisses" (FS L. Klein; [Hrsg. F. HAHN u.a.] BBB; Frankfurt 1993) im Druck.

John 20,22 in Its Eschatological Context: Promise or Fulfillment?

In his fine new addition to the immense corpus of commentaries on the Fourth Gospel, D. A. Carson, leaning on the exegesis of Theodore of Mopsuestia, argues that the bestowal of the Spirit in John 20,22 is a sign (or “symbolic promise”) that Jesus performs to insure the disciples that the Spirit will be given in the near future (i.e. at Pentecost)⁽¹⁾. The focus of this paper is to demonstrate the contrary, that the insufflation in John 20,22 is a realistic eschatological fulfillment, foreshadowed not only in ancient Judaism, but also, and primarily, in the Gospel itself. When the risen Jesus breathes and says, “Receive the Holy Spirit”, the Spirit in a Paraclete role indwells the disciples and gives to them the life-giving words of Christ to carry on his prophetic ministry. Consider first, then, an examination of Carson’s exegesis followed by a realistic alternative which, I argue, is more sensitive to the context of Johannine realized eschatology and the implicit union of Christ and the Spirit.

I

Carson marshalls seven points in support of his exegesis: 1. Since ἐνεφύσησεν is absolute in 20,22 and has no auxiliary structure or direct object (unlike LXX Gen 2,7; Wis 15,11), the episode should not be regarded as an “insufflation”; the verb here simply means “to breathe”. As a result, the verse should properly be translated,

⁽¹⁾ D. A. CARSON, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids 1991) 652-654. Common among conservatives, this interpretation is also endorsed by G. E. LADD, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids 1987) 289; D. GUTHRIE, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL 1981) 533-534; J. PAINTER, *John: Witness and Theologian* (London 1975) 70; W. HENDRIKSEN, *An Exposition of the Gospel of John* (London 1959) 461; et al. Interestingly, Theodore of Mopsuestia’s exegesis was condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

“And with that he breathed, and said, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit’” and not “he breathed on them and said...”. The usage of ἐμφυσάω outside of the NT does not promote the verb’s meaning to be coupled with the preposition “in” or “upon”. Moreover, in the multiple uses in the LXX, the verb is always conjoined with a syntactical addition of some kind to convey a prepositional force⁽²⁾.

2. The imperative Λάβετε should not necessarily generate a sense of completion or immediacy. It can just as well have the nuance of imminence as other imperatives do in John (e.g. in 17,5 Jesus uses the imperative, “And now, Father, glorify me in your presence...”)⁽³⁾.

3. Since the results of the Johannine Pentecost are “desperately disappointing, and the promises of John 14–16 vastly inflated”, the symbolic interpretation is recommended. In other words, there is no evidence to suggest that the disciples undergo any changes following the alleged bestowal of the Spirit. They still meet behind close doors (20,26); they revert back to their previous vocations (21,1-3); they continue to reconcile their actions with Christ (21,15-19); and they continue to play what Carson calls “compare-service-record games” (21,20-22)⁽⁴⁾.

4. If, as Beasley-Murray argues, the author of the Fourth Gospel knew about Pentecost, and thus presumably knew that his readers did as well⁽⁵⁾, why would he intentionally record the event as taking place at Easter? Since John is theologically minded, that is, interested in the unity of passion, glorification, and bestowal of the Spirit, it would seem more advantageous to omit a temporal specification altogether⁽⁶⁾.

5. The exclusion of Thomas from the bestowal highly limits the probability of a Johannine Pentecost. And when Thomas does come to faith in 20,28 the Spirit is strangely omitted from the discussion⁽⁷⁾.

6. If Acts is historically reliable, then it must be a point of reference from which to view John 20,22. Since the Evangelist and

⁽²⁾ CARSON, *The Gospel According to John*, 651-652.

⁽³⁾ Ibid., 653.

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁵⁾ Carson’s reference is to G.R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John* (Waco 1987) 382.

⁽⁶⁾ Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 653-654.

⁽⁷⁾ Ibid., 654.

his audience are probably aware of the Pentecost event and share the common heritage of the church, contradiction seems unlikely⁽⁸⁾.

7. Since John often develops steps of expectancy in his narrative, much like the foot washing episode (13,8) which anticipates the spiritual cleansing by the death of the Lamb of God, it would not be out of character to employ similar features here, thus pointing forward to the awaited full enduement⁽⁹⁾.

Carson provides, to my knowledge, the most thorough defense of the symbolic view⁽¹⁰⁾. It is fresh and intriguing, and characterized by a number of attractive features; but it is not free from several difficulties. Consider, respectively, some plausible alternatives to Carson's seven-fold argument.

1. Although Carson is correct in pointing out that ἐμφυσάω is absolute and thus the term "insufflation" begs the question, it is difficult at the same time to ignore the significance of the Evangelist's usage in this context. Given John's affinity with the OT, especially the creation account in the Prologue, it would seem very natural for the community to understand ἐνεφύσησεν coupled with πνεῦμα ἅγιον as a direct reference to Gen 2,7 where the actual giving of life is recorded, regardless of the metaphorical significance one wishes to attribute to the terms used. Though "breath" is almost certainly a metaphor in John 20,22, the event is not. Interestingly, later scribes were not as concerned with the absolute use of the verb and as a result they added αὐτοῖς for clarification (in light of the word's usage in the OT)⁽¹¹⁾. It seems odd to suggest that the Evangelist would use a rare term that would evoke specific connotations among his audience, when λέγω would suffice.

2. It is correct to insist that some imperatives do not indicate immediacy. But this in itself does not prove anything; there are also numerous imperatives that do point to immediacy (e.g. Ἴδε in John 19,26.27; Φέρε in John 20,27). If Carson's statement "there is no intrinsic reason for thinking that the imperative of 20,22, *Receive the Holy Spirit*, must be experienced immediately"⁽¹²⁾, only refers to

⁽⁸⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid., 655.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See also D. A. CARSON, "Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John" (Tyndale Fellowship Paper; 1975).

⁽¹¹⁾ M. M. B. TURNER, "The Concept of Receiving the Spirit in John's Gospel", *Vox Evangelica* 10 (1977) 32.

⁽¹²⁾ Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 653.

the form of λαμβάνω and not the context of its usage, then I am in wholehearted agreement. However, if the context is somehow implied in the statement, then I must beg to differ, for the proximate context gives ample evidence for immediacy. The scene is characterized by eschatological fulfillment and not further prediction or sign. When Jesus appears in the disciples' midst he prefaces his presence with Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν (20,19-21)⁽¹³⁾, of which many scholars agree that this common Jewish greeting not only contrasts the disciples' fear, but has wider implications, namely the fulfillment of the promises in 14,27 and 16,33⁽¹⁴⁾. The disciples' "joy" (v.20) may also have an eschatological realization dimension to it. Not only can it be understood as a fulfillment within the Johannine narrative (16,20.22), but also in terms of a much broader canonical context of OT prophetic literature. In the anticipated age, longed for by the Israelites, God would intervene in his Messiah and bring harmony, justice, and happiness. The kingdom of God would have as its fundamental blessing true joy (Isa 25,6-9; 54,1-5; 61,1-3)⁽¹⁵⁾.

Furthermore, since Jesus' commissioning is in the present tense (v. 21), then ought not one to assume that the ensuing verse also has a present or immediate nuance? It would seem a bit strained to suggest that the immediate commissioning of the disciples is followed by yet a further sign, rather than an immediate giving of the Spirit. In short, the natural reading suggests a consistency in tense between the commissioning and the bestowal of the Spirit.

⁽¹³⁾ R. E. BROWN, *The Gospel According to John* (AB 29A; New York 1966-1970) II, 1021, follows W. C. van Unnik's study on liturgical formulas and shows that when a verb is omitted in this phraseology, it is practically always declarative and should not be translated with the subjunctive "be".

⁽¹⁴⁾ R. BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. by G. R. Beasley-Murray (Philadelphia 1971) 692; J. N. SANDERS, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, ed. and completed by B. A. Mastin (London 1968) 431; G. S. SLOYAN, *John* (Atlanta 1988) 224; F. F. BRUCE, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids 1983) 391; BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, II, 1035. George R. Beasley-Murray contends that the greeting also complements Jesus' cry on the cross, "It is finished" in 19,30 (*John*, 379).

⁽¹⁵⁾ Brown also considers Rev 19,7 and 21,1-4 which associate peace and joy with divine presence (*The Gospel According to John*, II, 1035). Beasley-Murray states, "All that the prophets had poured into *shalom* as the epitome of blessings of the kingdom of God had essentially been realized in the redemptive deeds of the incarnate Son of God, 'lifted up' for the salvation of the world" (*John*, 378-379).

3. The “desperately disappointing” picture of the disciples after the bestowal should not be adduced as evidence that enduement of some sort did not occur. The argument rests on at least two basic assumptions. First, it is only conjecture to maintain that since the disciples are found fishing, they are “sidling [sic] back into their old employment” (21,1-3)⁽¹⁶⁾. Is it not also a viable alternative to propose that the fishing incident was an atypical circumstance used by the author of chapter 21 to direct the audience toward other themes in the resurrection narrative, such as Christ’s abiding presence, or the commission to Peter as the flock’s shepherd?

Second, the argument is from silence, for it assumes that since there is no mention of the fulfilled promises of John 14–16, then real enduement did not occur. Moreover, argues Carson, the contrary is evident. The disciples are still reconciling their differences with Christ (21,15-19) and still playing “let’s-compare-service-record-games” (21,20-22)⁽¹⁷⁾. But is this really evidence that Jesus did not bestow the Holy Spirit? I should think not, especially in light of Peter’s threefold confession of love for the risen Christ. If there is to be found some immoral circumstance on the part of the disciples in the post-resurrection narrative, this would only be consistent with Christian discipleship throughout the entire church age. The bestowal of the Spirit does not automatically imply moral perfection, rather it is the beginning of the journey to perfection. More central, however, to the Johannine understanding of the enduement of the Spirit is the continued presence of Christ in the new community, and not so much the moral outworking of that community.

4. The question of the inclusion of the Easter referent is indeed well pointed and in many respects at the heart of the issue. Since the fourth Evangelist is theologically focussed and wishes to convey the connection between the enduement of the Spirit and Christ’s glorification, why would he include the temporal specification of Easter? Would this setting not confuse his community which was surely familiar with Pentecost? The question, however, assumes a single enduement of the Spirit in the post-resurrection setting and thus it does not make allowances for additional experiences. As Blomberg correctly summarizes, “nothing in Luke or Acts demands that Pentecost be seen as the first occasion in which the disciples had

⁽¹⁶⁾ CARSON, *The Gospel According to John*, 653.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Ibid.

any experience of the Spirit”⁽¹⁸⁾. It is most probable that John 20,22 records the fulfillment of prior Spirit/Paraclete promises to the disciples, and that Acts 2 is one of several additional empowerings of the Spirit. The tendency to regard the Pentecost experience as a criterion by which other experiences of the Spirit are considered is unsupportable. While it is true that Acts 2 is the most dramatic in its results, it should by no means become the measuring rod for the Johannine narrative in terms of theological significance.

Although Carson agrees that John 20,22 should not be held hostage to Acts 2 and that Spirit and Paraclete promises should not be bifurcated, he still argues for a single enduement of the Spirit between Easter and Pentecost; “since in John the promise of the Spirit turns on Jesus’ return to his Father, a twofold coming of the Spirit somehow suggests that Jesus returned twice”⁽¹⁹⁾. But the ascension which allegedly must occur prior to the coming of the Paraclete can be explained in two ways. First, the ascension is either in process or has already occurred somewhere between 20,17 and 20,19⁽²⁰⁾. In the Magdalen scene, Jesus tells Mary not to touch him because he has not yet ascended (ἀναβέβηκα), but to go and tell the brethren that he is ascending (ἀναβαίνω). Eight days later, Jesus urges Thomas to touch him. If the prohibition to touch is linked with the ascension, then invariably, Jesus has ascended in the Easter narrative. A second explanation that discusses the supposed necessity of the ascension is as follows. The theme of the coming and

⁽¹⁸⁾ C. A. BLOMBERG, *The Historical Reliability of the Gospels* (Downers Grove 1987) 168.

⁽¹⁹⁾ CARSON, *The Gospel According to John*, 650.

⁽²⁰⁾ The former view is held by Bultmann, who states that, “The sense is that he *has* ascended; and even *as such* he appears to the disciples; as such he is able to bestow the Spirit (v.22), and as such he is afterwards addressed by Thomas as ‘My Lord and my God (v.28)’” (*The Gospel of John*, 69). The latter view is held by BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, II, 1012 (following on P. BENOIT, “L’Ascension”, *RB* 56 [1949] 161-203) who explains that a distinction must be made between “the ascension understood as the glorification of Jesus in the Father’s presence, and the ascension understood as a levitation symbolizing the terminus of the appearances of the risen Jesus”. Also, when Luke is not concerned about the 40 days describing the Pentecost feast, he is capable of tying the ascension together with Easter. “John is not concerned with the ascension as a terminus of Jesus’ appearances, but rather with the terminus of ‘the hour’ in which Jesus passed from this world to the Father (xiii 1)”.

going of Jesus finds full expression in the Farewell Discourses. But both verbs, *ὑπάγω* and *πορεύομαι* (used to refer to “departure” and “return”), are rarely attributed to the ascension. There is no necessity to use either term as a reference to an ascension that is divorced from the glorification of the cross. Similarly, the frequent use of *ἔρχομαι* in these chapters has a primary reference to the resurrected Jesus (14,18.23.28; 16,16) or to the coming of the Spirit (15,26; 16,8.13). When Jesus speaks of his departure as a prerequisite to the Paraclete’s arrival (16,7), the sense does not lend itself to Jesus’ complete absence, but rather to his glorification and death⁽²¹⁾. Burge correctly notices that “the Paraclete is not merely a ‘post-ascension’ figure, but more precisely he is involved in the dynamic of the ascension itself”⁽²²⁾.

5. The exclusion of Thomas in v.22 does not necessitate his exclusion from receiving the Spirit. Once again when the context is considered, John’s purpose is not to explain whether each disciple received the Spirit, but to portray Jesus as the eschatological resurrected Christ (20,31). Each appearance adds a unique aspect and teaching. For example, is one to conclude that the commission given to the disciples in v.21 does not include Thomas because of his absence? In short, John’s intent is to show *that* the Spirit was given, and not *to whom* it was given.

6. Carson argues that chronology must be maintained in accordance with Acts 2 if Luke is to be recognized as historically

⁽²¹⁾ V. KESICH, “Resurrection, Ascension, and the Giving of the Spirit”, *GOTR* 25 (1980) 250-254. The ascension should not be viewed as one final act in which Christ leaves the earthly dimension. Instead, it should be viewed as an ascent to the Father at the time of glorification. The glorified Jesus appears and departs a number of times (Luke 24,51; Acts 1,9-11; 9,5-6).

⁽²²⁾ G. M. BURGE, *The Anointed Community* (Grand Rapids 1987) 133. See also James D. G. Dunn who suggests that “John wishes to demonstrate the unity of the decisive events in the climax of Jesus’ ministry — death, resurrection, ascension, gift of the Spirit — a fact most clearly seen by his use of the words *δοξάζειν* and *ὑψοῦν*. Every so often the reader is pointed forward to the event of Jesus’ glorification (7:39; 12:16,23; 13:31; 17:1), the decisive hour (*ᾠρα*) of divine action (2:4; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23,27; 13:1; 17:1), which embraces not only Jesus’ resurrection and ascension, and not merely his death, but all these together. John does not want to think of them as separate events, but rather as a single act of glorification” (*Baptism in the Holy Spirit* [Philadelphia 1970] 173-174).

reliable. This contention in many ways rides on the coat-tails of argument no. 4 and subsequently the same assumption surfaces. It is further unclear why the Evangelist *must* maintain chronological consistency with Acts, especially in light of Carson's previous comment to the question of the two temple cleansings (John 2,12-22), that "certainly all four Evangelists frequently arrange their material in topical rather than chronological order" ⁽²³⁾. One can argue quite persuasively from a narrative perspective and show thematic similarities in both the Johannine and Lucan accounts. For example, both link the Spirit with speech and communication ⁽²⁴⁾; both accounts record the disciples in an enclosed locale; the verb *Λάβετε* comes close to being a technical term in the early church for the reception of the Holy Spirit (John 7,36; 14,7; Acts 1,8; 2,38; 8,15.17.19; 10,47; 19,2; Rom 8,15; 1 Cor 2,12; 2 Cor 11,4; Gal 3,2.14) ⁽²⁵⁾; both accounts are linked with a view to mission, authority, and power ⁽²⁶⁾; and both may be seen as culminating acts of the glorified Christ, as Dodd suggests, "It is only in connection with the incarnation that the idea of birth *ἐκ πνεύματος* makes sense. Accordingly, the gift of the Spirit to the Church is represented, not as if it were a separate outpouring of divine power under the forms of wind and fire (as in Acts), but as the ultimate climax between Jesus and His disciples" ⁽²⁷⁾.

This polemic, however, does not alleviate the impending reference to Easter even if the Fourth Gospel is theologically motivated. Carson, in my judgement, is correct at this juncture to note that the

⁽²³⁾ CARSON, *The Gospel According to John*, 177.

⁽²⁴⁾ Robert W. Lyon draws thematic parallels: In John, the Spirit will teach the disciples (14,26); he will bear witness to Jesus (15,26); he will convict the world of sin, righteousness, and judgement (16,8); and he will guide them into all truth (16,13). Similarly in Acts, the Spirit will cause the disciples to be witnesses (1,8); he will cause them to speak the word of God (4,31; 13,9) ("John 20:22, Once More", *Asbury Theological Journal* 43 [1988] 80).

⁽²⁵⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 126.

⁽²⁶⁾ Lyon maintains that, "The themes of John's Gospel, the terminology, (especially) the context, as well as the fact that at every theological point this pericope answers to Acts 2:4, all support the view that we do indeed have here a Johannine Pentecost. It is a highly theologized version of that inceptive experience which gave birth to the Church and perfected the work of the incarnate Son" ("John 20:22, Once More", 81).

⁽²⁷⁾ C. H. DODD, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge 1988) 226-227.

temporal reference in John would have only confused the audience if the Evangelist was describing the Pentecost event. But, we need not infer, therefore, that John 20,22 is a sign pointing toward Pentecost. It can very well be a prior event describing a realized eschatological fulfillment.

7. Carson is quite correct to suggest that John develops steps of expectancy in his narrative (such as the foot washing episode in 13,8), but this is not determinative of the same in 20,19-23. The anticipatory nature of the foot washing is evident from the overall context of John. The reader knows that it points forward to the spiritual washing achieved in Christ's glorification precisely because of the internal evidence. If one wishes to be consistent, then a symbolic rendering of 20,19-23 must also be supported by similar evidence in the Johannine context. As I have noted above, the reference to "peace", "joy", and the immediate commissioning point to context marked by fulfillment. The primary question here is: What is it *within* the narrative of the Fourth Gospel that necessitates the endowment of the Spirit to be understood as a symbolic promise?

II

The alternative position which seems to be most sensitive to the Johannine narrative rests partly on the popular "Johannine Pentecost" view⁽²⁸⁾. Not only does this interpretation advocate the complete fulfillment of prior Spirit and Paraclete texts in the Gospel, it also maintains an overall cognizance of the theme of realized

(28) BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, II, 1038; C.K. BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John* (Philadelphia 1978) 570; BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John*, 691; C.S. MANN, "Pentecost, the Spirit, and John", *Theology* 62 (1959) 188-190; C.H. DODD, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge 1989) 144; id., *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 430; R.H. FULLER, "John 20:19-23", *Int* 32 (1978) 180-184; C.F.D. MOULE, *The Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids 1978) 31, 76; D. MOODY SMITH, *John* (Philadelphia 1986) 90, 99; LYON, "John 20:22, Once More", 75; W. BAUER, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen 1933); M.E. ISAACS, *The Concept of Spirit. A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and Its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monographs 1; London 1976) 94, 122; D. HILL, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings. Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge 1967) 287-288; R.H. LIGHTFOOT, *St. John's Gospel* (Oxford 1960) 331; O. BETZ, *Der Paraclet* (Leiden 1963) 165-169; et al.

eschatology, primarily with respect to the Evangelist's pneumatology. The only departure, that I would suggest, from this otherwise compelling position is, once again, the assumption of a single eschatological outpouring of the Spirit; or to put it differently, the supposition that the Johannine pneumatic climax (20,22) is co-equal to Luke's Pentecost. Why can't the Johannine enduement function on its own as a complete fulfillment divorced from further outpourings which begin at Pentecost and supposedly continue throughout the "last days" as the giver of the Spirit sees fit? Brown, for example, warns that "it is bad methodology to harmonize John and Acts by assuming that one treats of an earlier giving of the Spirit and the other of a later giving", and since there is no evidence to suggest that either author makes allowances for the other, "we may hold that functionally each is describing the same event" ⁽²⁹⁾. While it is correct to warn against the illegitimate use of some harmonization methods, the statement appears to assume a single spiritual experience between Easter and Pentecost. There is no need, however, to warn against the harmonization of these accounts at all, for they may well enough be references to two separate theological, if not chronological, themes.

Lyon tries to justify a single outpouring by claiming that the NT's witness only points to one eschatological outpouring and not two ⁽³⁰⁾. Even if Lyon is correct (a point which needs to be substantiated), could not Acts 2 function as one of many subsequent outpourings of the *one* eschatological Spirit? Perhaps a better way to understand the eschatological promise of the Spirit is not in terms of the number of outpourings, but in terms of the new age that has dawned on God's people. The promise of the coming of the Spirit is better understood as all inclusive; he comes in a new way to his people in the new age. There is a single Spirit given to usher in a

⁽²⁹⁾ BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, II, 1038. See also DUNN, *Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, 173; FULLER, "John 20:19-23", 182.

⁽³⁰⁾ Lyon's argument runs as follows: If John 20,22 is the complete fulfillment of both Paraclete and Spirit texts and if Acts 2 is also considered a realistic fulfillment of the Spirit's outpouring, then we arrive at two separate eschatological bestowals. The only problem is that neither Luke-Acts and John, nor the corpus of biblical data point to two outpourings, but only to one. Thus, the logical result implies that John and Luke are independently referring to the same historical event ("John 20:22, Once More", 76).

single era; but it is suspect to maintain that this requires a single experience.

Having established the possibility of separate enduements of the Spirit in John and Acts, consider the ensuing key texts as they draw the reader progressively to a climax within a narrative characterized by eschatological imminence and eventual fulfillment. I wish to show here how the Evangelist has drafted a document where promise and fulfillment function to complement one another. To suggest otherwise, such as the symbolic view, would undoubtedly result in the continued imminence of the narrative, thus leaving the Evangelist's audience, not with the joy of pneumatic realization, but with a climax that is distinguished by yet another sign. This, to my thinking, would leave the Fourth Gospel in a premature state.

John 1,33

The key aspect that needs to be illumined in this verse is John's description of Jesus' anointing by the Spirit. Twice in this portrayal John uses the verb μένω (1,32.33) to signify the permanence of Jesus' anointing as well as to underscore the permanence of his relationship to the Father⁽³¹⁾. The implication also lends itself to an enduring, continuous union between Jesus and the Spirit throughout the earthly ministry⁽³²⁾. Prior to the Messianic anointing, a full remaining measure of the Spirit was not known, thus Jesus becomes the Prophet of prophets, the Messiah, by virtue of this peerless permanence, and one who could now effectively distribute the same Spirit to all those who abide in him⁽³³⁾. Here we find a grand example of the Evangelist's realized eschatology⁽³⁴⁾. Jewish history

⁽³¹⁾ BAGD 503-504. The permanent aspect can perhaps better be seen in 3,36 where God's disfavor remains on the disbeliever; in 6,27 where the verb indicates the duration of blessing; and in 1 John 2,17 where the permanence of the obedient believer is described.

⁽³²⁾ J. D. G. DUNN, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London 1988) 350.

⁽³³⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 55.

⁽³⁴⁾ I maintain as a supposition in this paper that the Fourth Gospel must be seen against a Jewish background and not against Mandaean or Gnostic source (contra Bultmann, James A. Robinson, et al.). For a fuller discussion on this subject, see: M. HENGEL, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel", *HBt* 12 (1990) 19-41; J. C. THOMAS, "The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism", *ZNW* 82 (1991) 159-182; G. REIM, "Jesus as God in the Fourth Gospel: The Old Testament Background", *NTS* 30

is filled with the longing for and the promises of a deliverer who will bring peace and joy to his people; he will be the servant of God upon whom the Spirit will remain, as Isa 11,2 (LXX) clearly anticipates, καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ (though μένω is not used here, the concept is nevertheless stressed, cf. 1 Pet 4,14; see also Isa 42,1; 48,16; 61,1). The significance of John 1,33 is further intensified when one considers the background of spiritual drought against which the Evangelist is writing, as is portrayed by the common rabbinic understanding that "since the last prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit has ceased in Israel" (t. Sot 13,2)⁽³⁵⁾. But, though the great epoch of the prophets was over, the Messiah was soon expected to bring the Holy Spirit in permanence and in fulness (*Tg. Isa* 42,1-4; *1 Enoch* 49,3; 62,2; *T. Jud.* 24,2; *Pss.Sol.* 17,37; 18,7; cf. *Sir* 48,12.24; *Jub* 25,14; *Zadokite Fragment* 2,10) to lead his people into the eschatological age⁽³⁶⁾. In sum, John 1,33 describes Jesus as the anointed one of God upon whom the promised eschatological Spirit remains in permanence, and it is precisely this point of eschatological realization that sets the stage for the Fourth Gospel's pneumatology.

John 3,34

The one controversy that is significant to the immediate focus, among the many surrounding the context of this verse⁽³⁷⁾, is the identity of the subject of δίδωσιν. Does John intend that God gives

(1984) 158-160; C.A. EVANS, "In Search of the Johannine Context", (unpublished); BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, XXXV-LXVI.

⁽³⁵⁾ Though the rabbinic sources in this paper may post-date the NT, their tradition is nevertheless valid for much of NT studies. For an excellent examination of the criteria used for validation, see: B.D. CHILTON, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSS 23; Sheffield 1983); id., *The Isaiah Targum* (Wilmington 1987); EVANS, "In Search of the Johannine Context".

⁽³⁶⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 56. See also E. SJÖBERG, "πνεῦμα, πνευματικὸς", *TDNT* VI, 384-385.

⁽³⁷⁾ A commonly associated debate which will not be developed here revolves around the identity of the speaker. For example, Schnackenburg, Brown and Bultmann see Jesus as the speaker, thus bringing verses 1-21 into continuity with verses 31-36. Others, like Barrett, say that John the Baptist is the speaker and let the arrangement stand. Still others such as Dodd, Morris and Lightfoot see the Evangelist as the speaker commenting on verses 1-30.

the Spirit to Jesus without measure, or does he mean that Jesus gives the Spirit to his disciples without measure? In favour of the latter, Brown argues that since it is much more common for the Evangelist to use either the perfect tense (17 times) or the aorist tense (8 times) when gifts are given from the Father to the Son, as opposed to the present tense used here (and again only in 6,37), then 3,34 most likely indicates that Jesus is the giver⁽³⁸⁾. A further argument, advanced by Porsch, insinuates that since the subject of v. 34a is evidently Jesus, no grammatical grounds may be adduced to think otherwise of v. 34b⁽³⁹⁾.

The scholars who argue for the former, that God is the subject, point to scribal additions of ὁ θεός (D Θ W a vg pesh hl sah boh Origen)⁽⁴⁰⁾. Additionally, some argue that if God were not the subject, then in light of the explanatory particle (γὰρ) one would have to interpret the verse in this manner: "That he speaks the words of God is recognizable from the fact that he imparts the Spirit in fulness". This, however, does not stress the idea that God is speaking in the words of his envoy at all (vv. 33-34a)⁽⁴¹⁾. Morris further states that though it is true the Son gives the Spirit to believers, there is no indication of that Spirit ever being given without measure in the New Testament corpus⁽⁴²⁾.

It seems to make the clearest sense in the context to regard God as the subject (although as Dunn maintains, there may be a hint of intended ambiguity which is not uncommon to John)⁽⁴³⁾. Thus, if this position is correct, one cannot confidently posit that John 20,22 reflects an immeasurable insufflation; but what can be maintained is that the Spirit, given without measure to Jesus, will manifest itself in the words he speaks, for "he whom God has sent utters the words of God because he gives the Spirit without measure". Jesus' words

⁽³⁸⁾ BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, I, 158. Though Brown makes a keen observation here, it is not conclusive, for the present tense may merely indicate permanence.

⁽³⁹⁾ F. PORSCH, *Pneuma und Wort. Ein Exegetischer Beitrag zur Pneumatologie des Johannesevangeliums* (Frankfurter Theologische Studien 16; Frankfurt 1974) 104.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 226.

⁽⁴¹⁾ R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel According to St. John* (New York 1990) I, 387.

⁽⁴²⁾ L. MORRIS, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids 1971) 247.

⁽⁴³⁾ DUNN, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 32.

will reveal the Father's will by pointing to the identity of his Messiah which is the hub in the Evangelist's narrative. The words are thus to be understood as the eschatological expression of the indwelling Spirit.

John 4,7-14

In this discourse, the gift of the living water can be said to symbolize not only the Spirit which was given to Jesus but also the life-giving words of his teaching. First, consider the symbolic reference to the Spirit through the use of water as a metaphor; a concept that is neither foreign to Johannine thought nor to Judaism. (a) John explicitly defines living water as the Spirit in other situations (7,37-39). (b) In the OT, God beseeches his people to come and partake of the eternal springs that will satisfy their souls (Isa 49,10; 55,1; 58,11; cf. Ps 23,2; Ezek 47,1-12). As Goppelt explains, "The new mode of expression [in John] corresponds to a fulfillment which surpasses the prophecy"⁽⁴⁴⁾. In other words, Jesus removes the aspect of thirst because the well of water is now *within* the believer; for "His gift, living water, which becomes a well of water, is His Word (John 8,37; 15,7), His Spirit (7,39; 14,17) and He Himself (6,56; 14,20; 15,4) all in one"⁽⁴⁵⁾. It may be said that John is here further showing Jesus' superiority over the patriarchs who were often thirsty for the presence of the Lord. (c) John's use of ἀλλομαι (v. 14) finds its parallel in LXX where it is used for the Spirit's descent on certain people (Judg 14,6.19; 15,14; 1 Sam 10,10). (d) The "gift of God", commonly affiliated with the Torah in Judaism (GenR 6,5), was a technical term associated with the Holy Spirit in the early church (Acts 2,38; 8,20; 10,45; 11,17; Heb 6,4)⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Second, the symbolism of the living water denotes the words of God spoken by the Spirit-anointed Jesus. Judaism commonly uses fluvial nuances to describe wisdom or the knowledge of God (Prov 13,14; 16,22; 18,4; 20,5; Sir 15,3; 24,21-31; Bar 3,12; 1QH 4; 8; 1QS 11)⁽⁴⁷⁾. Schnackenburg correctly sees the same parallels in Philo

⁽⁴⁴⁾ L. GOPPELT, "Υδωρ", *TDNT* VIII, 326.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ J.D.G. DUNN, "A Note on dorea", *ExpTim* 81 (1970) 349-351. See also B. OLSSON, *Structure and Meaning in the Fourth Gospel*. A Text-Linguistic Analysis of John 2:1-11 and 4:1-42, (ConB 6; Lund 1974) 212-218.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 102.

where the Logos is the “source of wisdom” (*Fuga* 97) and wisdom is in turn the source from which the Logos flows like a stream (*De somn.* II, 242)⁽⁴⁸⁾. Perhaps the most striking observation in terms of the “living water” parallels is made by H. Odeberg who notices that early Judaism uses this symbol to represent the life-giving power of the Torah (*Zadokite Fragment* 5,1.3; 8,3-10; 9,28). For example, Odeberg cites Yalq: “Just as the waters are given from above so the words of the Torah are given from above... Just as the waters descend in drops and are made into numerous rivers, so the words of the Torah... until it (the Torah) becomes like a *springing fountain*”⁽⁴⁹⁾. Additional examples are found in PesR 36,1 where Torah is called “fountain of life”⁽⁵⁰⁾, and PesK 11,1 where Torah is symbolized by the physical sustenance of bread and water⁽⁵¹⁾. In the Qumran literature sometimes “water” refers to the Holy Spirit (1QS 4), but more often it refers to the Torah (CD 3,16; 6,4-11; 19,34), especially in 6,4 where *הבאר היא המורה*, the well of Num 21,18, is the Torah⁽⁵²⁾. If this tradition is indeed the background of John, then Jesus’ discourse with the Samaritan woman leads to the understanding that the living water is the Spirit-empowered teaching of Christ which surpasses the Torah (1,17) and gives life to those who accept its truth in their hearts.

John 6,63

The popular Eucharistic debates associated with this context remain secondary in this study and therefore will not be considered. What concerns us is that Jesus identifies himself in the context as the bread of life which comes down out of heaven to nourish those who partake of his flesh, that is, his words. As in the discourse with the Samaritan woman where the Evangelist uses water to depict the

(48) SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel According to St. John*, I, 427, n. 27, 28.

(49) H. ODEBERG, *The Fourth Gospel Interpreted in its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World* (Uppsala–Och–Stockholm 1929) 160, cites *Yalqut Sim’oni*, ed. Ver-shava, II, 480 (1877) folio, 4 coll.

(50) W. G. BRAUDE, trans., *Pesikta Rabbati* (New Haven 1968) II, 677.

(51) W. G. BRAUDE – I. J. KAPSTEIN, trans., *Pesikta De-Rab Kahana: R. Kahana’s Compilation of Discourses for Sabbaths and Festival Days* (Philadelphia 1975) 202.

(52) BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 233.

Spirit and the words of Christ, so here also the symbol of bread represents Jesus' words (v.68) and Spirit (v.63) in juxtaposition offering eternal life⁽⁵³⁾. The meaning of bread in this context arises out of rich Jewish tradition. When the crowds' introduction to the theme of manna is preceded by a sign, there is little doubt that "the Prophet" in 6,14 alludes to the Moses-like Prophet of Deut 18,15-18. The idea that the manna given by Moses foreshadows the real bread from heaven, namely the words of God, is not new, for Moses makes this quite clear in Deut 8,3 explaining that, "man does not live by bread alone, but man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord". Additional OT references echo Moses' interpretation pointing to the word from God which gives true nourishment and perseverance to the believer (Neh 9,20; Wis 16,20,26; Isa 55,10-11; 65,11-13)⁽⁵⁴⁾. Perhaps the greatest number of parallels comes from Wisdom literature where wisdom, sometimes identified as "bread of Torah", issues an invitation to come and eat of its bread so that foolishness may be forsaken and understanding advanced (Sir 24,20,21; Prov 9,5). The reference in Sir 15,3 is particularly striking. Here wisdom is described as nourishing the righteous person who fears the Lord and obeys the law; "She will nourish him with bread of understanding and give him the water of learning to drink"⁽⁵⁵⁾. Philo also equates manna with wisdom, implying that in certain circles it was understood as a symbol of Torah. Commenting on the equal distribution in Exod 16,16-18, Philo states, "The divine Logos distributes equally to all who will use it the heavenly nourishment of the soul (τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν τῆς ψυχῆς), that is, wisdom" (*Quis Rer.* 191)⁽⁵⁶⁾.

⁽⁵³⁾ BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, I, 300.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Ibid., 266.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Ibid., 273.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Dodd states: "If then we suppose that our evangelist was acquainted with a school of thought for which the manna was a symbol of the Torah, as the expression of divine wisdom, then we should recognize in this passage another exemplification of the maxim, ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The argument would then run: Moses did indeed give the Torah, of which manna is the symbol; but the 'bread of Torah' is no more the knowledge of God which is life eternal than the manna is ἄρτος ἀληθινός; so Moses did not, in the true sense, give ἄρτος ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ, which, as the Scripture itself says, is God's own gift, and which is given through Christ" (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 336-337).

In the Bread of Life discourse, the hearers (except Peter's group in v. 68) misunderstand the spiritual significance of bread and perceive the whole ordeal in physical terms, ignoring the fact that Jesus' words, that is, the bread which nourishes the soul (the true manna) are spirit and life. The significance can be seen in a twofold manner: First, since Jesus' words come from the Father (12,49; 14,10,24; etc.) and are empowered by the Spirit (3,34), they can impart eternal life (5,24) to the one who believes them. And second, the believer can experience life and the Spirit if he remains in these words (5,24; 8,51; 14,23; 17,6) and believes them (6,64; cf. 6,29. 35.36.40.47)⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Once again, in a motif of realized eschatology, the Evangelist describes Jesus as the eschatological Prophet who has come to bring life to those who believe his Spirit-empowered words.

John 7,37-39

Similarly, this context invokes the imagery of living water, but this time it is set against the feast of Tabernacles. John's frequent adaptation of Pentateuch symbolism, like the paschal lamb, the bronze serpent, and the manna, may very well come into play here. It is probable that John has in mind to portray Jesus as the life-giving rock that Moses struck in the wilderness (Exod 17,1-7; Num 20,2-13); an idea that well corresponds with the reference to "the Prophet" by the multitudes in v. 40. Furthermore, the concept of the holy rock in Jerusalem out of which the Holy Spirit will flow is well attested in early Judaism⁽⁵⁸⁾. In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is

⁽⁵⁷⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 106. This concept is very much in line with Jewish Wisdom literature which teaches that those obedient to the Law are able to receive the Spirit (Wis 9,17; cf. 7,17; Sir 39,6), for the Spirit of God in turn inspires the obedience. It is further developed in the QL where the possession of the Spirit led one to insights into divine mysteries and cleansing from sin, thus enabling one to live according to God's will (1QH 4,31; 7,6; 12,11). See SJÖBERG, "πνεῦμα, πνευματικὸς", 385.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel According to St. John*, II, 155, leans on Jeremias' *Golgotha* [Leipzig 1926] 80-84) work on the holy rock of Jerusalem stating, "He [Jeremias] takes as his starting-point a passage used in the rite of drawing water, Is 12:3: 'With joy you will draw water from the wells of salvation'. In devotional exegesis, this was interpreted as the holy Spirit: thus Sukkah 5:55a: Rabbi Jehoshua ben Levi (c.250) said: 'Why did they call it (the court of women) the place of drawing water? Because it was from there that they drew the holy Spirit, according to the

now the rock from which living water will flow, the source of God's Spirit and wisdom.

Alongside this background, a second antecedent is recalled. During the Tabernacle feasts, God was invoked to provide much-needed rain to sustain agricultural life. Certain ceremonies of water and light, originally as invocations, developed further eschatological dimensions in later times. While worshippers sang the joyful Hallel Psalms (Pss 113-118), water from the fountain of Siloam was poured into the temple altar as a libation to signify the eschatological streams of the new Jerusalem that would impact all the nations (m. Suk 55; cf. Ezek 47,1-12; Zech 13,1; 14,8)⁽⁵⁹⁾. Though the rabbis generally understood the invocation for rain in literal terms, they did not shy away from the symbolic significance, to understand the beseeching for water as an invocation for the Holy Spirit in the eschatological age. The life-giving properties of water in an arid physical environment reflected the life-giver in a spiritual drought (cf. Joel 3,18; y.Suk 55a; and Midr. Rab. 70 on Gen 29,2-3). Schnackenburg shows how the two traditions of the water-gushing rock in the wilderness and the spring in the new Jerusalem are synthesized in t. Suk 3,3-18:

On that day it will come to pass that fresh spring water will flow from Jerusalem... So was it with the spring which was with Israel in the desert; it resembled a rock which was as full of holes as a sieve, and the water trickled and sprayed from it as from the neck of a bottle... The water gushed from it as from an upturned bucket⁽⁶⁰⁾.

If this rabbinic tradition reflects John's background, then Brown can be confidently followed: "Their prayers for water had been answered in a way they did not expect; the feast that contained within itself the promise of the Messiah had been fulfilled (2,21)"⁽⁶¹⁾.

word: "With joy will you draw water...". This interpretation of the water as the holy Spirit, which is so significant for our text, was also derived from Is 44:3, a passage which, according to Guilding, was one of the readings for the feast of Tabernacles. Reference to the water gushing from the rock in the wilderness, already noted in connection with 6:35, may be very important. Boismard refers to the Targum rendering of Ps 78(77):16: 'He made streams of water come from the rock and caused them to come down like rivers of flowing water'".

⁽⁵⁹⁾ E. FERGUSON, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids 1990) 444; BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 92.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel According to St. John*, II, 155-156.

⁽⁶¹⁾ BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, I, 327.

In v. 39 the Evangelist explicitly clarifies the meaning of the living water as “Spirit” and forecasts his giving when Jesus is glorified. This would suggest that the Spirit, though present, was not a reality in terms of the eschatological picture which John so vividly draws his audience toward (or even places them within). It is important to note that no indication in the context leads to the conclusion that the Holy Spirit did not exist prior to this time; the statement is not concerned with the inner life of God, but with God’s relationship to his people⁽⁶²⁾. The recurring theme of δόξα revealed in Christ points generally to the passion narrative, but more specifically to his death. Δόξα is introduced in the Prologue, forecast in 7,39 and 11,4, and announced as imminent in 12,23. Then, after the heightened expectation, Jesus announces it with dramatic force: νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (13,31)⁽⁶³⁾. At this juncture of the passion narrative Barrett draws us back to 3,14 as a reminder that Jesus’ exaltation is not seen in clouds of glory, but on the cross⁽⁶⁴⁾.

The thought in this text (7,37-39) is striking because it points directly to 20,22. Jesus, who is the eschatological rock from whom rivers of life flow, will give this long-awaited gift after his death, not as a symbol of an imminent reality, but as *the* realization. It would seem absurd to suggest that all the anticipation in the narrative and the eschatological fulfillment in the Johannine corpus would only lead to a further parable or symbol. If symbolism is to lie anywhere, then it is best picked up in 19,34 when water and blood come out of Jesus’ side after he is thrust by a spear. Since the Spirit is closely connected to Jesus’ death, a proleptic symbol of the Spirit’s release (recalling 7,39) may very well be in view here. And thus, following in the Jewish Meribah tradition, the eschatological waters anticipated to flow from the temple actually flow from the cross. This fulfillment is suggested by the witness’s triumph in 19,35-37⁽⁶⁵⁾.

⁽⁶²⁾ Ibid., 324.

⁽⁶³⁾ DODD, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 396. Fernando F. Segovia argues convincingly that 13,31-32 is an important introduction that sets forth the immediate context for the farewell discourse (*The Farewell of the Word: The Johannine Call to Abide* [Minneapolis 1991] 69).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 329.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ BURGE, *The Anointed Community*, 94-95. John’s inclusion of blood is also rich alongside Jewish tradition. In the Midr. Rab. on Exodus, Ps 78,20 is interpreted as follows: “Moses struck the rock twice, and first it

John 14-16

The Farewell Discourses are characterized by a genre of prophetic commissioning⁽⁶⁶⁾ and tied quite nicely, one might add, to the theme of commissioning in 20,19-13. When Jesus departs he will send another Paraclete, the Holy Spirit (14,26), to continue his ministry in the lives of the disciples who will display his presence in their prophetic proclamation⁽⁶⁷⁾. The functions of the Johannine Paraclete are truly remarkable when considered eschatologically. The Paraclete bears witness of the Messiah (15,26); he takes the things of Christ and discloses them to the disciples (16,14); he will disclose the things to come (16,13); and he will convict the world concerning sin, righteousness and judgment (16,8-11). As Barrett

gushed out blood and then water". The *Pal. Tg.* on Num 2,11 reads: "And Moses lifted up his hand with his rod and struck the rock twice: at the first time it dropped blood, but at the second time there came forth a multitude of water". In the later Aggadah legends of the Midrash Petirat Aharon the blood is explained as a result of the violence of Moses striking the rock. See L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, trans. by Paul Radin (Philadelphia 1987) III, 318-320.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ W. RUSSELL, "The Holy Spirit's Ministry in the Fourth Gospel", *Grace Theological Journal* 8 (1987) 235-237. See also M. E. BORING, "The Influence of Christian Prophecy of the Johannine Portrayal of the Paraclete and Jesus", *NTS* 25 (1978) 113-123; M. E. ISAACS, "The Prophetic Spirit in the Fourth Gospel", *HeyJ* 24 (1983) 391-407; D. A. CARSON, "The Function of the Paraclete in John 16:7-11", *JBL* 98 (1979) 547-566.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Establishing the correct definition of παράκλητος has not been an easy venture in the last few decades. Some have argued for a legal sense translating it as "advocate" (LSJ; BEHM, *TDNT* V). Others stress the LXX "comforter" (J. G. DAVIES, "The Primary Meaning of παράκλητος", *JTS* 4 [1953] 35-38). Still others suggest a flexible definition like "supporter" or "sponsor" (K. GRASTON, "The Meaning of Parakletos", *JSNT* 13 [1981] 67-82). My task here is far too limited in scope to carry this discussion further. Whatever the exact definition may be it is nevertheless prophetic in nature and this is my stress. The Farewell Scene has become the basis for the "pre-Pentecost" or "partial fulfillment" interpretation of John 20,22. Scholars, such as Rudolf Schnackenburg, who posit this interpretation (in one way or another) all agree that 20,22 is not the fulfillment of prior Paraclete promises. Most will divorce the Evangelist's Spirit promises from the Paraclete promises, thus leaving a partial fulfillment. This view, however, does not consider seriously enough the union of παράκλητος and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον in 14,26, nor the purpose of the post-resurrection narratives. Unfortunately, a fair evaluation of this position is unable to be explored within these limited parameters.

aply states, "The Paraclete is the Spirit of Christian paraclesis (cf. the very common rabbinic description of the Holy Spirit as the 'Spirit of Prophecy')"⁽⁶⁸⁾. Yet, at the same time, the Spirit Paraclete does not act independently of Christ; nor should he be understood as beginning where Christ finished. Rather, the Spirit Paraclete is the eschatological continuum in which the entire ministry of Christ is advanced⁽⁶⁹⁾. Burge is not exaggerating when he summarizes that "the single most important feature in the Johannine Paraclete is its Christological concentration. Christ is the template within the Fourth Evangelist's thinking that has given shape and meaning to the Spirit"⁽⁷⁰⁾. To repeat, Paraclete functions are expressed in terms of their fulfillment in John 20,19-23, especially if one is sensitive to the climactic imminence of the passion narrative. The awaited restoration of peace (cf. 14,27; 16,33) and joy (cf. 16,20-22) among the frightened and confused disciples can only be attributed to the promised Paraclete who is the giver of comfort and help.

In sum, what can therefore be learned about the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, which the disciples received in 20,22, from the previous predictive texts? First, the Spirit which Jesus breaths on the disciples is marked by permanence, for it was given without measure (3,34). The nature of Jesus' anointing in 1,33 supersedes all prior similarities, thus, at last the long awaited eschatological Spirit comes to God's people through the Messiah. Second, Jesus' words are the eschatological expression of the indwelling Spirit (3,34; 7,37-39). Third, these Spirit-empowered words or teachings of Christ even surpass the Torah (1,17) and give life to those who accept them in their hearts. They are the living water (4,7-14) and the true bread (6,41-65) from which eternal life has its source and sustenance. Fourth, the giving of the

⁽⁶⁸⁾ BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 462.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Ibid., 90.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Burge correctly notices that, "In John the Spirit Paraclete had adopted personal features similar to the person of Christ. If Jesus has come from the Father (6:57), so will the Paraclete (15:26). As Jesus was sent (3:17), so is the Paraclete (16:7). If the Paraclete is the Spirit of Truth, Jesus is the Truth (14:6). If the Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, Jesus is the Holy One of God (6:69). As the world cannot receive the Paraclete (14:17), so too evil persons do not accept Jesus (5:43; 12:48)... John has developed his image of the Paraclete from the image of Christ found in the Gospel of John" (*The Anointed Community*, 41).

eschatological Spirit occurs when Jesus is glorified (death on the cross) (3,14; 7,39; 12,23; 13,31). Proleptically symbolized in the water and blood coming from Jesus' side on the cross (19,34), the glorified Christ returns to personally give the Spirit to his disciples (20,22). Finally, the Holy Spirit is described as the Paraclete who will indwell the disciples and continue Christ's ministry. In this manner, the glorified Christ will remain in the disciples forever (14,16). In every instance, a recollection of eschatological significance is visible. There can be little doubt that the Fourth Evangelist intended to characterize the message of the Spirit by realized eschatology.

John 20,22

Of all the texts that have been presented as parallels to "breath" in 20,22 by scholars⁽⁷¹⁾, Gen 2,7 (LXX) and Ezek 37,5-14 (LXX) are the most commonly noted⁽⁷²⁾. Both texts use ἐμψυσάω to describe the life-giving breath of God which generates the inanimate carcass of man. In Ezekiel, the act is understood as symbolic, representing the restoration of the Jews and their return and possession of the land. The passage is often recalled by Church Fathers as scriptural proof of the resurrection⁽⁷³⁾. Similarly, Midrash Rabbah to Gen 2,7 sees "breath" in Ezek 37,14 as an eschatological gift of the Spirit that will produce life⁽⁷⁴⁾. The Targum of Ezek 37,14 comes even closer to John 20,22, for it describes God's *memra* as the agent who decrees the giving of the Spirit; "And I will put My Spirit into you, and you shall live, and I will make you dwell upon your land, and you shall know I, the Lord, have decreed it *by My Memra*"⁽⁷⁵⁾. It is possible that John may be recalling this synagogue teaching in his description of God's Word as the giver of the Spirit.

Perhaps a closer parallel however, exists in *Tgs. Onqelos* Gen 2,7 and *Pseudo-Jonathan* Gen 2,7. The former states, "Now the Lord God created *Adam* as dust from the earth and breathed into

(71) 1 Kgs 17,21; 19,11; Ps 104,29; Tob 6,8; 11,11; S. Bar 23,5; Wis 15,11; IQS 4,21; CD 2,12.

(72) BARRETT, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 570; BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 380; BROWN, *The Gospel According to John*, II, 1037.

(73) S. H. LEVEY, trans., *The Targum of Ezekiel* (Wilmington 1987) 103, n. 1.

(74) H. FREEMAN – M. SIMON, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (London 1983) I, 116.

(75) LEVEY, *The Targum of Ezekiel*, 104.

the nostrils of his face the breath of life and it became in *Adam* a spirit *uttering speech*" (76). The latter reads (the lemma is italicized).

And the Lord God created man with two inclinations. And he took dust from the place of the Temple and from the four winds of the world, and he mixed them from all the waters of the world and he created him ruddy, black and white. And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and the living breath was in the body of Adam for a spirit able to speak, for the enlightening of the eyes, and for the hearing of the ears (77).

In each case, a reference is made to speech. This is remarkable when compared to John's understanding of the Spirit. Not only is the Spirit associated with life, but more importantly, the Spirit is the speech and understanding that God gives to man. If this is truly the background out which the Evangelist is writing, then it can be confidently said that when Jesus breathes and says, "Receive the Holy Spirit", he is imparting his words and understanding of eternal life to the disciples (78). It does not seem correct to define the insufflation as regeneration, or some other impartation of belief, for faith (of some sort) among the disciples appears established already (16,30), especially when we consider their overall devotion over the two- or three-year ministry period. As Hengel suggests, the creation nuance in the insufflation has everything to do with the impartation of the understanding of scripture, and the words and works of Jesus (79). So now the disciples, who possess the words of life, by means of the indwelling Spirit (as Jesus), can go forth and continue the prophetic ministry of the earthly Jesus. The overall purpose of the insufflation must be seen in light of the commissioning in v. 21.

Conclusion

The interpretation offered seems to be most sensitive to the Fourth Gospel as a self-contained narrative wherein eschatological

(76) B. GROSSFIELD, trans., *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis* (Wilmington 1987) 44.

(77) J. BOWKER, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture* (Cambridge 1969) 110-111.

(78) After this conclusion was reached independently, it was discovered that Michal Wojciechowski arrives at a similar interpretation, but adds that the gift of tongues was also an outworking ("Le don de l'Espirit Saint dans Jean 20.22 selon Tg. Gn. 2.7", *NTS* 33 [1987] 291).

(79) HENGEL, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel", 30.

fulfillment is evident, without introducing the common assumption that the disciples experienced a single enduement of the Spirit between Easter and Pentecost. The symbolic view, as presented by Carson, unfortunately does not deal well enough with the eschatological imminence and eventual fulfillment of the Spirit and Paraclete texts within the unfolding Johannine drama. The Evangelist has created a context of realized eschatology by drawing on numerous metaphors that parallel Jewish literature, and thus, the reality of complete fulfillment seems most consistent in 20,22. As God breathed life into man and gave to him words and understanding (*Tg. Onq. Gen. 2,7; Tg. Neof. Gen. 2,7*), so also Jesus breathes the Spirit into his disciples giving to them the words and understanding of eternal life. When the risen Jesus breathes and says, "Receive the Holy Spirit", the reader is drawn back to prior Spirit and Paraclete texts wherein it is discovered that the Spirit which Jesus breathes is none other than the permanent eschatological Spirit which is expressed in the life-giving words of the Messiah's teaching. The Spirit in a Paraclete role indwells the disciples and gives to them the life-giving words of Christ to carry on the prophetic ministry. In turn, those who believe the words of life shall be forgiven their sins, and those who reject shall have their sins retained⁽⁸⁰⁾.

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SOMMAIRE

Cet article critique la récente interprétation symbolique de Jn 20,22 proposée par D. A. Carson (*The Gospel According to John* [Grand Rapids 1991]). Pour notre part, nous affirmons que le contexte du récit johannique, contexte d'eschatologie réalisée, oriente vers une interprétation réaliste de Jn 20,22, selon laquelle ce texte est l'accomplissement et le sommet de ce que le quatrième évangile dit de l'Esprit. Toutefois, Jn 20,22 reste différent du récit lucanien de la Pentecôte. Nous examinons six passages sur l'Esprit qui préparent Jn 20,22 (Jn 1,33; 3,34; 4,7-14; 6,63; 7,37-39; 14-16) et ce à la lumière de textes parallèles juifs qui parlent de l'imminence du don de l'Esprit eschatologique. Jn 20,22 est semblable au *Tg. Onq.* et au *Tg. Ps.-J.* de Gn 2,7 et nous concluons que le don de l'Esprit est en fait le don des paroles ou de l'autorité de Jésus dans la prédication.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ I wish to express my gratitude to Craig A. Evans who made several helpful comments.

The Fifth Seal (Rev 6,9-11) as a Key to the Book of Revelation

In a book imbued with references to worship, the opening of the fifth seal in Rev 6,9-11 contains the only example of a prayer of supplication and its answer⁽¹⁾. We propose to demonstrate the key role that this unique text plays in the Book of Revelation by analyzing (1) the text in itself, (2) how it relates to its preceding context, and (3) how it prepares the remainder of the book.

Our argumentation presupposes that the Book of Revelation is a coherent and consistent literary unity. We shall utilize verbal repetitions and conceptual correlations to demonstrate the interrelationships between Rev 6,9-11 and the rest of the book. The extensive connections will illustrate how the opening of the fifth seal functions as a key part within a unified whole.

I. The Meaning of Rev 6,9-11

Rev 6,9-11 divides into three parts: (1) When the Lamb opened the fifth seal of the scroll, John saw under the altar in heaven⁽²⁾ the

⁽¹⁾ Previous special studies of Rev 6,9-11 include P. VAN DEN EYNDE, "Le Dieu du désordre. Commentaire synthétique d'Apocalypse 6,9-11", *BVieChr* 74 (1967) 39-51; A. FEUILLET, "Les martyrs de l'humanité et l'Agneau égorgé. Une interprétation nouvelle de la prière des égorgés en Ap 6,9-11", *NRT* 99 (1977) 189-207.

⁽²⁾ The term θυσιαστήριον, "altar", occurs in Rev only here and in 8,3, where it clearly refers to the heavenly altar. On the Jewish background and appropriateness of the heavenly altar as a location for the slaughtered souls, see I. T. BECKWITH, *The Apocalypse of John* (Grand Rapids 1919) 524-525; R. H. CHARLES, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (2 Vols.; ICC; Edinburgh 1920) I, 172-174; G. R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *The Book of Revelation* (NCB; London 1974) 135-136; J. M. FORD, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB 38; Garden City, NY 1975) 99; R. H. MOUNCE, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT 17; Grand Rapids 1977) 157-158; P. PRIGENT, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (CNT 14; Lausanne-Paris 1981) 113-114; M. E. BORING, *Revelation* (Louisville 1989) 125; M. R. MULHOLLAND, *Revelation* (Grand Rapids 1990) 174.

souls⁽³⁾ of those slaughtered for the word of God and the testimony they had (6,9). (2) They cried out in a loud voice, “How long, holy and true master, do you not judge and vindicate our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?” (6,10). (3) Then they were each given a white robe and told to rest yet a little while, until the number is fulfilled of their fellow servants and their brothers who are going to be killed as they had been (6,11)⁽⁴⁾.

As a consequence of having been slaughtered for the word of God and the testimony (of Jesus Christ, 1,2,9) they had⁽⁵⁾, the souls under the altar utter a prayer of supplication for God to judge and vindicate their deaths on those who killed them, “the inhabitants of the earth”. Their prayer receives an initial answer as they are given white robes and told to rest a little while longer. But only after a number of their fellow servants and brothers are killed as they were, that is, by “the inhabitants of the earth” on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, will God judge and vindicate.

God’s answer thus warns the “servants” (δούλοις, 1,1) in the liturgical assembly of churches to whom the book is addressed (1,1.3.4.11) that like the “fellow servants” (σύνδουλοι, 6,11) and brothers of the souls under the altar they can expect to be

⁽³⁾ The term ψυχή, “soul, life” (see BAGD. 893) is used in various ways in Rev; see 6,9; 8,9; 12,11; 16,3; 18,13.14; 20,4. In 6,9 and 20,4 it refers to a human being’s God-given existence that survives death; see E. SCHWEIZER, “ψυχή”, *TDNT IX*, 644,654.

⁽⁴⁾ According to H. ULFGARD, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles* (ConBNT 22; Stockholm 1989) 56, the slaughtered souls are to wait for two different groups: (1) their “fellow servants” (σύνδουλοι) and (2) their “brothers” (ἀδελφοί) who are to be killed as they themselves have been. Thus, only the brothers and not the fellow servants are to be killed like the souls. But this distinction is highly questionable. It is more likely that “fellow servants” and “brothers” refer to one and the same group. In 1,9 a similar double designation is used to refer to one person: “I, John, your brother (ἀδελφός) and fellow sharer (συγκοινωνός)...”. As CHARLES, *Revelation*, I, 177, states: “The σύνδουλοι and the ἀδελφοί are the same persons viewed under different aspects”. See also BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 527; MOUNCE, *Revelation*, 160.

⁽⁵⁾ FEUILLET, “Les martyrs”, 194, 201, overemphasizes the absence of the words “of Jesus Christ” after “testimony”, but they are implied from 1,2,9. This implication leads us to retain the literal translation “they had” εἶχον in 6,9 with its sense of having, holding or preserving the testimony given by Jesus Christ, rather than use a more idiomatic “they had given” (*NRSV*) or “they bore” (*NAB*).

slaughtered for the word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ that John testifies to in the book (1,2)⁽⁶⁾. But at the same time they are assured that God will eventually judge and vindicate them, so that they can hope to share in the white robes and heavenly rest of the souls who have gone before them. The relation of Rev 6,9-11 to its context further illustrates this interpretation⁽⁷⁾.

II. The Preceding Context of Rev 6,9-11

1. *The First Four Seals (6,1-8)*

In this section we examine how the fifth seal relates to the preceding series of four seals. Several features underline the uniqueness of the fifth seal. After John reports that he saw the Lamb open the first of the seven seals (6,1), the fifth is the only case where the numeral occurs before rather than after the word "seal" (6,9; cf. 6,3.5.7.12; 8,1). And that John immediately "saw" (6,9) under the altar the slaughtered souls when the Lamb opened the fifth seal breaks the pattern of the first four seals, in which John first heard (6,1.3.5.7) the voice of one of the four living creatures calling forth a colored horse⁽⁸⁾.

That the souls in the fifth seal "had been slaughtered" (ἐσφαγμένων, 6,9) follows as one of the consequences of the second seal's generalized depiction of the slaughter of war and civil strife, in which "it was given" (ἐδόθη) the rider of the red horse to take peace away from the earth, so that people "would slaughter" (σφάζουσιν) one another⁽⁹⁾. He also "was given" (ἐδόθη) a great

⁽⁶⁾ On the Book of Revelation as addressed to a liturgical assembly, see U. VANNI, *L'Apocalisse: Ermeneutica, Esegesi, Teologia* (RivBSup 17; Bologna 1988) 73-86; J.-P. RUIZ, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17-19,10* (Frankfurt am Main 1989) 184-189.

⁽⁷⁾ We will follow the literary structure of Revelation proposed by U. VANNI, *La struttura letteraria dell'Apocalisse* (Aloisiana 8a; Brescia 1980).

⁽⁸⁾ É. DELEBECQUE, "'Je vis' dans l'Apocalypse", *RevThom* 88 (1988) 460-466; id., "'J'entends' dans l'Apocalypse", *RevThom* 89 (1989) 85-90.

⁽⁹⁾ BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 519, notes that "the second rider, as shown by the sword, the color of his horse, and the mission to take peace from the earth, symbolizes war, or more precisely, the slaughter of war". The slaughter of the souls by the inhabitants of the earth in the fifth seal, then, is one particular example of the more general slaughtering described in the second seal. While "the second horseman is a symbol of international and

sword appropriate for the slaughtering (6,4). And that the fellow servants and brothers of the souls are also going “to be killed” (ἀποκτείνεσθαι, 6,11) follows as one of the consequences of the fourth seal’s indication of various types of killing, in which authority over a fourth of the earth “was given” (ἐδόθη) the riders of the green horse, Death and Hades, “to kill” (ἀποκτείνει) (6,8).

Within the sequence established by the repetition of “it was given” (ἐδόθη in 6,2.4[*bis*].8.11), there is a contrast between the giving of items dealing with death and the giving of items involving the triumph of life over death. In the first seal the rider of the white horse (later identified as the King of kings and Lord of lords, and thus as the risen Christ, in 19,11-16) “was given” (ἐδόθη) a crown, the symbol of triumph (2,10; 3,11; 4,4.10)⁽¹⁰⁾, and “went out conquering and to conquer” (6,2)⁽¹¹⁾. In the second and fourth seals, however, the above-mentioned death-dealing items “were given” (6,4.8) to the riders. In contrast to these death-dealing items and as a consequence of the life-giving triumph indicated for the rider of the white horse, each of the souls “was given” (ἐδόθη) a white robe (6,11), a symbol of their participation in the life of the risen Christ (1,14.18; 3,4-5)⁽¹²⁾.

In praying to the “holy and true master”, the risen Christ (see 3,7), for judgment and vindication the souls are praying to the rider of the white horse, the risen Christ, who “went out conquering and to conquer” (6,2). They are praying for him to exercise his power to conquer (first seal) on “the inhabitants of the earth” (6,10), those

civil strife”, according to CHARLES, *Revelation*, I,164, the intense strife that precedes the messianic age is meant. As PRIGENT, *L’Apocalypse*, 110, specifies: “C’est donc de la guerre comme signe de l’ère messianique qu’il s’agit”. On the relation of the fifth seal to its immediate context, FORD, *Revelation*, 110, remarks: “The fifth seal may be seen as the key to the whole chapter for it looks backward to the concept of the ‘martyr’ Lamb in ch. 5 and forward to the number of those sealed and the configuration of angels in ch. 7. It confirms that all the souls are in the context of the just judgment of God. It properly stands after the political, economic, and social upheavals because it is within these that the martyrdom occurs”.

⁽¹⁰⁾ VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 235, n. 28.

⁽¹¹⁾ On the christological dimensions of the rider of the white horse, see VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 264, n. 17.

⁽¹²⁾ VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 42-44, 51-52. On the white robes as a comfort or recompense for the souls, see ULFGARD, *Feast and Future*, 81-85.

who, in taking peace “from the earth” (6,4) by slaughtering one another (second seal), have slaughtered the souls and who will kill (fourth seal) their fellow servants and brothers. That the slaughtered souls are given white robes associating them with Christ’s triumph over death arouses the hope of the audience, which includes the souls’ fellow servants and brothers to be killed, for the triumph of judgment and vindication.

2. *The Heavenly Worship of God and the Lamb (4,1–5,14)*

We now consider the verbal and conceptual points of contact between the fifth seal and John’s vision of heavenly worship in 4,1–5,14. The gold bowls of incense that are held by the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders as they fall down before the Lamb, the risen Christ, in John’s vision of heavenly worship symbolize “the prayers of the holy ones” (5,8). That the souls are addressing this same risen Christ as the holy and true master from a position under the altar in heaven (6,9–10) leads us to consider their prayer as a representative example of the prayers of the holy ones and thus to number the “souls” among the “holy ones”.

The souls’ position under the altar in heaven is appropriate to the imagery of the prayers of the holy ones ascending before the heavenly throne of God in the form of the smoke of incense burned on the altar (8,3–4; Ps 141,2)⁽¹³⁾. That the souls have been

⁽¹³⁾ According to FEUILLET, “Les martyrs”, 194–196, 201, the slaughtered souls under the altar in 6,9 refer *only* to pre-Christian martyrs. He bases his argument on the absence of the words “of Jesus” after “witness” and on a supposed similarity of Rev 6,9 with Matt 23,32–35. But in reference to Feuillet’s argument ULFGARD, *Feast and Future*, 55–56, n. 234, points out: “one would wish that there was more in the text to support such a clear distinction between Jew and non-Jew, pre-Christian and Christian in the people of God in Rev. It is highly questionable whether it is permissible to draw the conclusions that 6:9 refers especially to pre-Christian martyrs (cf. Matt 23:35), while the parallel text in 20:4 has Christian martyrs in view”. PRIGENT, *L’Apocalypse*, 114, likewise cautions against placing too much importance on the omission “of Jesus”, which the audience themselves could supply. He goes on to say: “Peut-on pourtant faire remarquer que, même s’il faut sous-entendre ‘de Jésus’, cela n’exclut pas encore de manière définitive les martyrs de l’ancienne alliance: l’esprit prophétique qui les inspirait était directement relaté au témoignage de Jésus (Ap. 19,10)”. In our opinion Feuillet errs not by including pre-Christian martyrs but by excluding Christian martyrs from the slaughtered souls.

“slaughtered” (ἐσφαγμένων, 6,9) places them in this position of directing their prayer to the Lamb, who has likewise been “slaughtered” (ἐσφαγμένον, 5,6.12), but who now stands in the midst of God’s throne with divine power⁽¹⁴⁾. Because the Lamb was “slaughtered” (ἐσφάγης, 5,9), he was able to purchase for God with his blood those from every tribe, tongue, people and nation, and make them a kingdom and priests for God, and they reign on earth (5,9-10)⁽¹⁵⁾. In praying for divine judgment and vindication of their blood on “the inhabitants of the *earth*” (6,10), the souls are in effect praying that the people made into God’s kingdom and priests by the Lamb may indeed reign on *earth* (5,10).

The twenty-four elders worshipping in heaven and holding the gold bowls of incense representative of the prayers of the holy ones (5,8) were earlier seen to be dressed in “white” (λευκοῖς) garments and with gold crowns on their heads around the throne of God (4,4). That the souls praying in heaven are similarly dressed in “white” (λευκή) robes further associates them with these praying elders in the heavenly worship⁽¹⁶⁾.

3. *The Seven Letters* (2,1–3,22)

There are several key conceptual and verbal relationships between the fifth seal and the seven letters in 2,1–3,22. John, who was on the island of Patmos “on account of the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) and the testimony (μαρτυρίαν) of Jesus” (1,9), was commanded to write what he saw and send it to the seven churches (1,11.19). “What he saw” refers to the various things he “saw” (1,12.17.19.20) in his vision of “one like a Son of Man” (1,13). But in the introduction to the book “the things he saw” (ὅσα εἶδεν) also refer to “the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) and the testimony (μαρτυρίαν) of Jesus Christ” to which John “testified” (ἐμαρτύρησεν) (1,2). What John has written in the seven letters to

⁽¹⁴⁾ For a more precise understanding of the Lamb’s location on the throne in 5,6 through an explanation of the imagery in 4,6, see R. G. HALL, “Living Creatures in the Midst of the Throne: Another Look at Revelation 4.6”, *NTS* 36 (1990) 609–613.

⁽¹⁵⁾ For the text-critical preference of “reign” rather than “will reign” in 5,10, see VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 361.

⁽¹⁶⁾ On the liturgical character of Rev 4–5, see A. GANGEMI, “La struttura liturgica dei capitoli 4 e 5 dell’Apocalisse di S. Giovanni”, *Ecclesia Orans* 4 (1987) 301–358.

the seven churches, then, contains “the word of God (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) and the testimony (μαρτυρίαν)” for which the souls were slaughtered (6,9). That the testimony Jesus gives in the letters is also the word of God is underscored by the exhortations to hear⁽¹⁷⁾ what the Spirit (of God, 1,4) is saying to all the churches (plural) in each letter (2,7.11.17.29; 3,6.13.22)⁽¹⁸⁾.

The souls slaughtered for the “testimony” (μαρτυρίαν, 6,9) of Jesus generalize the example provided by Antipas, Jesus’ faithful “witness” (μάρτυς), who was killed among those of the church at Pergamum, who did not deny the “faith” (πίστιν) of Jesus (2,13). The souls and the “faithful” (πιστός) Antipas idealize Jesus’ exhortation for those in the churches to be “faithful” (πιστός) until death during persecution (2,10), and thus to imitate Jesus Christ as “the faithful witness” (ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός, 1,5; 3,14)⁽¹⁹⁾. This testimony of Jesus which the souls “had”, “held”, or “preserved” (εἶχον, 6,9) until their death is what those in the churches “have” (ἔχετε, 2,25; ἔχεις, 3,11) and are urged to hold firmly until Christ comes⁽²⁰⁾.

The souls address their prayer to the “holy and true” (ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός, 6,10) master, that is, to the risen Jesus who identifies himself as “the holy and true one” (ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός, 3,7) in the letters⁽²¹⁾. The address “master” (δεσπότης), which occurs only

(17) On the repeated use of the “hearing formula” as underlining the necessity for the whole ecclesial community to be faithful and strong in holding fast to and preserving what they have, see A.-M. ENROTH, “The Hearing Formula in the Book of Revelation”, *NTS* 36 (1990) 598-608.

(18) In 6,9, as in 1,2,9, the “testimony” (of Jesus) further specifies “the word of God”, as the καὶ is exegetical; BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 421, 526.

(19) On the “witness of Jesus” and Christians who bear testimony to that witness by their deaths in Rev, see R. FILIPPINI, “La forza della verità: Sul concetto di testimonianza nell’Apocalisse”, *RivB* 38 (1990) 401-449. See also A. A. TRITES, “Μάρτυς and Martyrdom in the Apocalypse: A Semantic Study”, *NT* 15 (1973) 72-80; B. DEHANDSCHUTTER, “The Meaning of Witness in the Apocalypse”, *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. LAMBRECHT) (BETL 53; Leuven 1980) 283-288; M. G. REDDISH, “Martyr Christology in the Apocalypse”, *JSNT* 33 (1988) 85-95.

(20) CHARLES, *Revelation*, I,174: “the expression εἶχον... implies a testimony that has been given them by Christ and which they have preserved” (his italics). See also BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 526.

(21) See R. J. BAUCKHAM, “The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity”, *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 322-341.

here in the book, further indicates the uniqueness of this prayer. It appropriately expresses the master/servant relationship the souls and their fellow servants have with the risen Jesus, the “slaughtered” Lamb (5,6.12) who is now their “master”⁽²²⁾.

Whereas in the letters Jesus warns the churches that he will come to judge them if they fail to repent (2,5.16.22-23; 3,3.11), the souls pray for the master instead to judge and vindicate their blood on “the inhabitants of the earth” (κατοικοῦντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 6,10), the enemies of the churches. They thus pray for the time of trial Jesus promised would come on the whole world to test “the inhabitants of the earth” (κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 3,10)⁽²³⁾.

The use of the motif of “white” clothing as a future reward for the churches in the letters helps to illuminate the significance of the white robes in the fifth seal. That each of the souls is given a white robe means that they, like those in Sardis, have not “soiled their

⁽²²⁾ Although BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 526, and FORD, *Revelation*, 99, suggest that δεσπότης, “master”, could refer to the risen Christ, and CHARLES, *Revelation*, I,175, E. LOHMEYER, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16; Tübingen ²1953) 64, FEUILLET, “Les martyrs”, 197, and PRIGENT, *L’Apocalypse*, 114, n.29, point out that δεσπότης refers to Christ in Jude 4 and 2 Pet 2,1, they all opt for a reference to God. Our reasons for maintaining that δεσπότης in Rev 6,10 refers to the risen Christ, the Lamb, include the following: (1) The focus of the worship in Rev 5,8-14 is primarily to the Lamb. (2) The prayer of the souls serves as a representative example of the prayers of the holy ones, which seem to be directed primarily to the Lamb as they are symbolized by the gold bowls of incense that are held by the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders as they fall down *before the Lamb* in John’s vision of heavenly worship in 5,8. (3) The souls address their prayer to the holy and true (ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός) master and in 3,7 the risen Jesus identified himself as the holy and true one (ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός), as noted by CHARLES, *Revelation*, I,175; FEUILLET, “Les martyrs”, 197-198. (4) It seems appropriate for the souls as “servants” (see 6,11) who were slaughtered (ἐσφαγμένον, 6,9) to address the Lamb as their “master” who was likewise slaughtered (ἐσφαγμένον, 5,6.12). It should be noted, however, that the Lamb and God are very closely correlated; in 5,13 the worship of everything in the universe is directed “to the one who sits on the throne (God, see 4,2-3) and to the Lamb”.

⁽²³⁾ In Rev “the inhabitants of the earth” designates the wicked in opposition to faithful Christians (3,10; 6,10; 8,13; 11,10; 13,8.12.14; 17,2.8); BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 483; VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 224; RUIZ, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 315; ULFGARD, *Feast and Future*, 41-42; E. S. FIORENZA, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia 1985) 63, n. 91.

garments" so that they are worthy to walk with Jesus in white (3,4). They begin to realize Jesus' promise that the victor will be clothed in white garments, which means they will not be erased from the book of eternal life, nor found in "shameful nakedness" (3,18), but will be acknowledged by Jesus in the judgment (3,5) for which they are praying.

The heavenly rest given the souls serves as the refreshing repose to which those who have not grown weary can look forward after their works, labor, endurance, tribulation, love, faith, service, and burdens (2,2-3.9.19.24)⁽²⁴⁾. Although a number of the fellow servants and brothers of the souls will be killed, after their labors they can hope to join the souls in white robes and heavenly repose. By imitating the endurance of the souls in remaining faithful until death to the testimony of Jesus, they will receive all of Jesus' promises to the victors (2,7.11.17.26-28; 3,5.12.21), who share in Jesus' victory over death, so that they will not be harmed by the "second death" (2,11).

4. *Introduction: Title, Liturgical Dialogue, and Vision (1,1-20)*

We now consider the verbal and conceptual parallels that link the fifth seal to the book's introduction in 1,1-20. The word of God and testimony of Jesus for which the souls were slaughtered and for which their fellow servants and brothers will be killed is the same word and testimony for which John finds himself on the island of Patmos and to which he testifies in his visions recorded in the book (1,2.9). In the inaugural vision (1,9-20) the risen Jesus testifies that he is the living one who was dead but now lives forever and holds the keys of Death (θανάτου) and Hades (ᾗδου) (1,18). He has thus triumphed over the personified Death (θάνατος) and Hades (ᾗδης) that appear in the opening of the fourth seal (6,7-8) and that are ultimately responsible for "killing" (ἀποκτεῖναι in 6,8; ἀποκτείνεσθαι in 6,11) the souls and their fellow servants in the fifth seal (6,9-11).

In the introductory liturgical dialogue (1,4-8) the lector proclaims that Jesus will "come" (ἔρχεται) in a context of

⁽²⁴⁾ The position of the souls under the altar in heaven allows us to consider their "rest" to be "heavenly rest". That the souls are told to rest "yet a little while" implies that they have already been resting and are not being told merely to cease their lamentful prayer.

judgment, seen by everyone, even those who killed him, so that all the tribes of the earth will lament him (1,7)⁽²⁵⁾. His triumphant coming will fulfill the word of God, who proclaims himself as the one who is and who was and who is to “come” (ἐρχόμενος, 1,4.8)⁽²⁶⁾. In response to this word of God and testimony of Jesus for which they were slaughtered, the souls pray for this triumphant “coming”—for the divine judgment and vindication of their blood on “the inhabitants of the earth”. The answer to their prayer, that judgment and vindication will not occur “until” fellow servants are killed, places a temporal restraint upon the notices that what is revealed in the visions of the book must happen “soon” for the time is near (1,1.3; see also 2,16; 3,11).

The “fellow servants” (σύνδουλοι) and “brothers” (ἀδελφοί) to be killed like the souls for holding to the testimony of Jesus are numbered among the “servants” (δούλοις, 1,1) and “brothers” (1,9; 19,10) who are the audience that has been given the testimony of Jesus (1,2), the liturgical assembly of churches to whom the book is addressed (1,1.3.4.11). In the introductory liturgical dialogue they praise Jesus for making them into a “kingdom, priests for his God and Father” (1,6).

John’s identification of himself with the audience as their “brother” (ἀδελφός) and fellow sharer “in the affliction and kingdom and endurance in Jesus” (1,9) indicates how they are a kingdom beset by affliction which calls for endurance⁽²⁷⁾. Indeed, the answer to the souls’ prayer calls for the audience, the fellow servants and brothers, to endure affliction until they are killed. By so doing, as a kingdom and priests for God, they reign on earth (5,10) as they await the coming of Jesus Christ, the ruler of the kings of the earth (1,5), to judge and vindicate their blood on “the inhabitants of the earth” (6,10).

(25) The OT background to 1,7 in Dan 7,9-14 and Zech 12,10.12.14 indicates that the “coming” is in a context of eschatological judgment.

(26) VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 111-112.

(27) In 1,9 the word “kingdom” (βασιλεία) is preceded by “affliction” (θλίψει) and followed by “endurance” (ὑπομονή).

III. The Succeeding Context of Rev 6,9-11

1. *The Sixth Seal and Visions of Multitudes (6,12-7,17)*

In this section we see how the fifth seal is linguistically and conceptually connected with the sixth seal and the visions of multitudes in 6,12-7,17. The opening of the sixth seal projects the universal ramifications preceding the judgment for which the souls have prayed in the opening of the fifth seal. Along with other cosmic horrors the stars of heaven fell "to the earth" (6,13). So terrible is the cosmic calamity that all the inhabitants of the earth—the kings "of the earth", the magnates, the generals, the rich, the powerful, and everyone, slave and free—hid themselves in the caves and rocks of the mountains (6,15). That they beg the mountains and rocks to fall upon and hide them (Hos 10,8) from the face of the one who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb, poised for judgment (6,16; 5,13), indicates that the prayer of the souls for judgment on the inhabitants of the earth is beginning to be answered⁽²⁸⁾.

Their dreadful lament that "the great day of their wrath has come, and who is able to stand?" (6,17) implies that no one is able to "stand" (σταθῆναι) once the wrath of the Lamb has been revealed⁽²⁹⁾. Their question forms an ironic contrast with John's vision of the Lamb "standing" (ἑστηκός) in risen triumph as one who had been slaughtered (5,6). It also raises a suspenseful question for the book's audience: Are they, the fellow servants and brothers of the souls, destined for the earthly realm of those unable to "stand" or for the heavenly realm of those able to "stand" like the Lamb?

An initial answer is given the question of who can "stand" (σταθῆναι) as John saw four angels "standing" (ἑστῶτας) at the four corners of the earth, holding back the four winds of the earth (7,1). This contradicts the implication that no one can "stand" (6,17). Another angel tells them not to damage the earth, sea, or trees until "we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads" (7,2-3). Then 144,000 servants from every tribe of Israel

⁽²⁸⁾ BEASLEY-MURRAY, *Revelation*, 138-139: "Their cry in verse 16 in part answers the cry of the martyrs (v. 10)".

⁽²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, 139.

are sealed (7,4-8)⁽³⁰⁾ to be protected from the damage of the judgment the angels will execute against “the inhabitants of the earth” on the great day of the wrath of God and of the Lamb (6,17). These “servants” (δούλους) are the predecessors of the “servants” who are the audience (1,1), the “fellow servants” (σύνδουλοι) of the souls.

The question of who can “stand” (6,17) continues to be answered as John saw a large crowd “standing” (ἑστῶτες) before the throne and before the Lamb (7,9)⁽³¹⁾. This encourages the audience that they too will be able to “stand” before the throne and the Lamb. Whereas the previous crowd numbered 144,000, this crowd is innumerable and not limited to Israel but universal—from every nation, tribe, people, and language. Whereas “the inhabitants of the earth” hid themselves from the wrathful judgment coming from the throne and the Lamb and were unable to “stand” (6,15-17), the large crowd “stands” worshipping them (7,9-10). That each of the souls praying under the altar in heaven was given a “white robe” (στολὴ λευκὴ) equips them to join in the heavenly worship of this large crowd clothed in “white robes” (στολὰς λευκάς).

This large white-robed crowd represents those who have survived the “great” (μεγάλης) affliction (7,14) associated with the judgment on the “great” (μεγάλῃ) day of wrath (6,17)⁽³²⁾. That they have washed their robes and made them white by the blood of the Lamb identifies them with the audience, who were freed from their sins by the blood of Jesus Christ (1,5) and made into a kingdom and priests (1,6; 5,10), purchased for God by the blood of the Lamb from every tribe, language, people, and nation (5,9; 7,9). The vision of this crowd engaged in the heavenly worship of the God who will shelter them and of the Lamb who will comfort them

⁽³⁰⁾ For recent debate on the list of the tribes, see R.E. WINKLE, “Another Look at the List of Tribes in Revelation 7”, *AUSS* 27 (1989) 53-67; C.R. SMITH, “The Portrayal of the Church as the New Israel in the Names and Order of the Tribes in Revelation 7.5-8”, *JSNT* 39 (1990) 111-118; R. BAUCKHAM, “The List of the Tribes in Revelation 7 Again”, *JSNT* 42 (1991) 99-115.

⁽³¹⁾ CHARLES, *Revelation*, I,183.

⁽³²⁾ In Rev “great affliction” (θλίψις μεγάλη) expresses the particularly severe affliction associated with judgment (2,22-23; 7,14) in distinction to the more general affliction of the churches (1,9; 2,9-10).

(7,15-17) encourages the audience, the liturgical assembly of the souls' fellow servants and brothers, to endure a killing of their number with the assurance that they will survive the judgment of "the inhabitants of the earth" (6,12-17) and take their places in the heavenly worship (7,9-17)⁽³³⁾.

2. *Seventh Seal and Six Trumpets (8,1-11,14)*

The fifth seal resonates conceptually and verbally with the section of the seventh seal and the six trumpets in 8,1-11,14. After the opening of the seventh seal and the giving of seven trumpets to the seven angels who stand before God (8,1-2), another angel performs a liturgical ritual that corresponds to the prayer of the souls. This angel came with a gold censer and stood at the "altar" (θυσιαστηρίου, 8,3; 6,9) under which the souls uttered their prayer. He was given a large quantity of incense to offer along with the prayers of all the holy ones (see 5,8) on the gold altar before the throne of God in heaven (8,3). That the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the holy ones went up before God from the hand of the angel (8,4) indicates God's hearing of the prayers⁽³⁴⁾.

Their answer is dramatically portrayed as the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar and threw it "on the earth" (8,5). This reinforces the fact that God has heard and is now in the process of answering the souls' prayer for judgment on "the inhabitants of the earth" (6,10). Indeed, after the fire (8,5.7.8.10) from the heavenly altar has partially destroyed the earth and many people (8,11) in the blowing of the first four trumpets (8,6-12)⁽³⁵⁾, an ominous suspense is aroused by an eagle in midheaven announcing three more woes to come on "the inhabitants of the earth" from the remaining three trumpets (8,13)⁽³⁶⁾.

⁽³³⁾ As ULFGARD, *Feast and Future*, 33, states, "ch. 7 must be understood as part of the progressive 'action' of the seal series, showing the question of 6:17 answered in two ways, first in the audition of 7:1-8, and then in the vision of 7:9-17... In fact, the whole of ch. 7 refers back to the fifth seal (6:9-11)...". See also p. 156 and MULHOLLAND, *Revelation*, 180.

⁽³⁴⁾ On the relation between the trumpets and the fifth seal in 8,3-5, see J. PAULIEN, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretations of Revelation 8:7-12* (Berrien Springs, MI 1988) 318-322.

⁽³⁵⁾ For a detailed treatment of the blowing of the first four trumpets, see PAULIEN, *Decoding*.

⁽³⁶⁾ VANNI, *L'Apocalisse*, 215-225.

In the blowing of the fifth trumpet, comprising the first of the remaining three woes (9,12), a star fell from heaven “to earth” and was given the key to the shaft of the abyss (9,1). In 8,4 the “smoke” (καπνός) of the incense that “went up” (ἀνέβη) before God with the prayers of the holy ones indicated a favorable answer of their prayers in heaven. But in 9,2 the “smoke” (καπνός) that “went up” (ἀνέβη) like the smoke of a great furnace from the shaft of the opened abyss and darkened the sun and the air points to the detrimental consequences of this answer for their enemies on earth. From this smoke locusts came “on the earth” with power like that of the scorpions “of the earth” (9,3). They were allowed to torment but not to kill only those who did not have the seal of God on their foreheads (9,4-6; 7,2-8), that is, “the inhabitants of the earth”, those on whom the woes were announced (8,13) in answer to the prayer of the souls⁽³⁷⁾.

The answering of the prayer of the souls continues as a voice comes from the horns of the gold “altar” (θυσιαστηρίου) before God (9,13), the same gold “altar” (θυσιαστηρίου) on which the angel offered incense with the prayers of all the holy ones (8,3), exemplified by the prayer of the souls under the “altar” (θυσιαστηρίου, 6,9)⁽³⁸⁾. This heavenly voice directs the angel with the sixth trumpet to release four angels to kill a third of humankind (9,14-15), thus complementing the destruction of various “thirds” in the first four trumpets (8,7-12), and advancing the fifth trumpet in which human beings were tormented but not killed (9,4-6). Despite the killing of a third of their number (9,18), the remaining human beings do not repent of their evil deeds, including “their murders” (9,20-21). Hence, the prayer of the souls for the judgment and vindication of their blood on “the inhabitants of the earth” still needs to be answered.

The temporal restraint placed on God’s judgment and vindication of the blood of the souls when they were told to rest “yet a little while” (ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν, 6,11) seems to be dramatically

⁽³⁷⁾ Since those who have the seal of God on their foreheads are designated as the servants of God numbered among those to be protected from the harm (7,2-4) of the judgment that threatens all the rest of those who inhabit the earth (6,12-17), those who do not have the seal of God are those “inhabitants of the earth” (8,13) who are susceptible to harm (9,4).

⁽³⁸⁾ CHARLES, *Revelation*, I, 248.

terminated by the solemn declaration of the mighty angel with the small scroll: "There will be no more delay" (χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, 10,6). The implication is that the souls will not need to wait any longer for the answer to their prayer.

A new suspense immediately emerges, however, as the angel continues, "but in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets" (10,7). Since the end of the "delay" has been announced, the audience now expects the seventh trumpet's fulfillment of the "mystery of God" to indeed end the delay with the divine judgment and vindication for which the souls have prayed.

That the fulfillment of the mystery of God has already been announced to his "servants" (δούλους) the "prophets" (προφήτας) (10,7) relates it to both the souls and their "fellow servants" (σύνδουλοι) (6,11). As those who have been and will be killed for the word of God and the "testimony" (μαρτυρίαν) of Jesus, which "testimony" (μαρτυρία) is the spirit of "prophecy" (προφητείας) (19,10), the souls and their fellow servants are associated with the servants who are the prophets, often killed for their testimony (11,7; 16,6; 18,24). Those "servants" (δούλοις) included in the audience to whom the book is addressed (1,1) are also associated with the "servants" who are the prophets, since they are encouraged to hear and keep the words of the "prophecy" (προφητείας) (1,3) contained in the book (see also 22,7.10.18.19).

Since the rest of humankind has not repented (9,20-21), John, after devouring the small scroll (10,8-10), is told "to prophesy" (προφητεῦσαι) again about many peoples, nations, languages, and kings (10,11). The two witnesses sent to "prophesy" (προφητεύσουσιν) for twelve hundred and sixty days, wearing sackcloth for repentance (11,3), serve as a paradigm for John's prophesying and for the audience in their attempt to keep the Book's words of prophecy (1,3).

When the two witnesses have finished their "testimony" (μαρτυρίαν), the days of their "prophecy" (προφητείας, 11,6), they will be killed (11,7), just as the souls have been slaughtered and their fellow servants will be killed for the word of God and the "testimony" (μαρτυρίαν) they had. The deaths of the witnesses will be vindicated, however, as their enemies, the unrepentant peoples, tribes, languages, and nations who refuse to let them be buried

(11,9; see 10,11; 9,20-21), and “the inhabitants of the earth” who celebrate their demise (11,10), watch the witnesses ascend to heaven with new life from God (11,11-12). This is part of the vindication on “the inhabitants of the earth” for which the souls have prayed.

The two witnesses, like the fellow servants, will join the souls in heaven after their deaths. God’s vindication of the testimony and prophecy of the witnesses causes the “rest” (λοιποὶ, 11,13; 9,20) of humankind to repent, as they become terrified and give glory to the God of heaven⁽³⁹⁾. This completes the second woe, but the third is coming soon (11,14).

3. *Seventh Trumpet and Six Bowls (11,15–16,16)*

We now consider the various literal and thematic correspondences between the fifth seal and the section of the seventh trumpet and six bowls in 11,15–16,16. After the blowing of the seventh trumpet (11,15) the promised fulfillment of the “mystery of God” (10,7) begins to unfold. In answer to the souls’ prayer for God to “judge” (κρίνεις, 6,10), the twenty-four elders in heaven announce that God’s wrath has come and the time for the dead “to be judged” (κριθῆναι, 11,18). In correspondence to the souls being given white robes and told to rest (6,11), the judgment includes the giving of a reward to God’s servants the prophets, the holy ones, and those who fear God’s name (11,18).

Once the great dragon, called the Devil and Satan, was thrown down from heaven to earth, a great voice in heaven announced that now “the accuser of our brothers (ἁδελφῶν), who accuses them before our God night and day, has been thrown down” (12,9-10)⁽⁴⁰⁾. These “brothers” have conquered Satan by the blood of the Lamb and by the “word” (λόγον) of their “testimony” (μαρτυρίας), for they did not love their lives even to the point of death (12,11). They thus correspond to the souls who have been slaughtered as well as to their fellow servants and “brothers” (ἁδελφοὶ) in the audience who will be killed for the “word” (λόγον) of God and the “testimony” (μαρτυρίαν) they had (6,9-11)⁽⁴¹⁾.

⁽³⁹⁾ C. H. GIBLIN, “Revelation 11.1-13: Its Form, Function and Contextual Integration”, *NTS* 30 (1984) 433-459.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ On the identification of this “great voice”, see MOUNCE, *Revelation*, 242.

⁽⁴¹⁾ On the relation between “the word of their testimony” (12,11) and “the word of God” (6,9), see BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 626-627.

That these brothers have conquered the dragon by the blood of the Lamb encourages the brothers in the audience, who have been freed from their sins and made into a kingdom and priests by the blood of Jesus the Lamb (1,5-6; 5,9-10), to be those who keep the commandments of God and hold to the "testimony" (μαρτυρίαν) of Jesus as they battle against the dragon on earth (12,17; 6,9; 1,2-3).

Whereas the dragon came to do battle, the beast associated with the dragon is allowed not only to do battle against but to conquer the holy ones (13,7), that is, those who keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus (12,17), the souls' fellow servants and brothers in the audience⁽⁴²⁾. The holy ones will be conquered because all "the inhabitants of the earth", those who slaughtered the souls, will worship the beast (13,8). A number of the souls' fellow servants and brothers among the holy ones are thus going "to be killed" (ἀποκτεννεσθαι, 6,11), because they too will be victims of the inevitable destiny of those captured and killed: "if anyone is to be taken into captivity, into captivity he goes; if anyone is to be killed (ἀποκτανθῆναι) by the sword, he will be killed (ἀποκτανθῆναι) by the sword" (13,10). But here is where the holy ones, fellow servants and brothers of the audience are urged to have endurance and faith (13,10). for when they refuse to worship the image of the beast, they will be "killed" (ἀποκτανθῶσιν, 13,15).

In another answer to the souls' prayer for God to judge, an angel in midheaven announces that the hour of God's "judgment" (κρίσεως, 14,7) has come. In the judgment those who worship the beast and its image will have no "rest" (ἀνάπαυσιν, 14,11) day or night. Here again is where the holy ones, the souls' fellow servants and brothers in the audience, those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, are urged to have endurance (14,12; see 13,10; 12,17). They must worship God (14,7) rather than the beast, even if it means being killed (13,15). That the slaughtered souls were told to "rest" (ἀναπαύσονται, 6,11) in heaven prefigures and reinforces the promise that those who die in the Lord rather than worship the beast will be blessed and "will rest (ἀναπαήσονται) from their labors, for their deeds follow them" (14,13).

(42) The identification of "the holy ones" (13,7) with "those who keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus" (12,17) is confirmed in 14,12.

In further answer to the prayer of the souls another angel came from the altar (14,18; 6,9; 8,3) under which the souls prayed and on which the prayers of all the holy ones were offered (8,3-5). This angel, who has authority over the fire of the altar (8,5), cried out in a loud voice for the angel with the sharp sickle to complete the "harvest" of the judgment (14,14-18) for which the souls prayed. So the angel swung his sickle over the earth and cut the vintage of the earth and threw it into the great wine press of the fury of God (14,19). The seven angels with the seven last plagues are to bring "the fury of God" to completion (15,1). In contrastive correspondence to the gold bowls filled with incense, representative of the prayers of the holy ones (5,8; 8,3-5), one of the four living creatures gave the seven angels seven gold bowls filled with the fury of God (15,7). The seven angels are told to go and pour out the seven bowls of God's fury on the earth (16,1).

When the third angel poured out his bowl on the rivers and springs of water and they became blood, the angel of the waters declared God to be just for so "judging" (ἐκρίνας, 16,5). Indeed, those who poured out the blood of holy ones and prophets deserve to be given blood to drink (16,4-6). This poignantly answers the souls' prayer for God to judge and vindicate their blood on the inhabitants of the earth (6,10). The now personified altar under which the souls uttered their prayer affirms that these "judgments" (κρίσεις) of God are true and just (16,7)⁽⁴³⁾.

4. *Seventh Bowl, Judgment, and Vindication (16,17-22,5)*

Linguistic parallels and conceptual correlations link the fifth seal to the section portraying the seventh bowl, the judgment, and vindication in 16,17-22,5. After the seventh bowl is poured out, the souls' prayer for God to judge and vindicate their blood on "the inhabitants of the earth" (6,10) is answered in terms of the "judgment" (κρίμα, 17,1) of the great harlot Babylon. She was drunk from the blood of the holy ones and from the blood of the

⁽⁴³⁾ A. J. BEAGLEY, *The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* (BZNW 50; Berlin-New York 1987) 85, refers to the personified altar in 16,7 as "apparently shorthand for 'those under the altar,' i.e. the martyrs of Rev 6:9-10, who called for vengeance on the 'earth-dwellers'". See also MULHOLLAND, *Revelation*, 266.

“witnesses” (μαρτύρων, 17,6) of Jesus⁽⁴⁴⁾, thus from the blood of the souls already slaughtered and of their fellow servants and brothers who will be killed for the “testimony” (μαρτυρίαν, 6,9) of Jesus. Because she made “the inhabitants of the earth”, those responsible for shedding the blood of the souls, drunk from the wine of her harlotry (17,2), God will appropriately give her the cup of the wine of the fury of his wrath (16,19)⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Through a repetition of various words for judging, the answer to the souls’ prayer for God’s judgment continues to be celebrated: another voice from heaven (18,4) declares that mighty is the Lord God who “judges” (κρίνας, 18,8) Babylon. The kings of the earth will weep and wail over the destruction of Babylon, saying, “in one hour your judgment (κρίσις, 18,10) has come”. The sailors and sea merchants who mourn her destruction (18,17-19) call for heaven and the holy ones, apostles, and prophets to rejoice over her, for God has “judged” (ἔκρινεν) their “cause” (κρίμα) against her (18,20). A mighty angel declares that after Babylon has been thrown into the sea, she will be “found” no more (18,21) because in her was “found” the blood of prophets, holy ones, and all, including the souls, who were “slaughtered” (ἐσφαγμένων, 18,24; 6,9) on earth⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Then, after a great crowd in heaven declares God’s “judgments” (κρίσεις) to be true and just, because he “judged” (ἔκρινεν) the great harlot, they exclaim that God has “vindicated” (ἐξεδίκησεν, 19,2) the blood of his servants from her hand. As the only other occurrence of the verb “to vindicate” in the book, this exclamation serves as a climactic answer to the souls’ prayer for God to “vindicate” (ἐκδικεῖς, 6,10) their blood⁽⁴⁷⁾.

(44) The “holy ones” and the “witnesses” are not two mutually exclusive groups. Rather, in accord with a common trait in Rev, the second group (witnesses) further specifies the first (holy ones), so that the καὶ can be considered exegetical (BECKWITH, *Apocalypse*, 242, 694); the two groups can be considered to be in “poetic” parallelism (ULFGARD, *Feast and Future*, 53, n. 226).

(45) RUIZ, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 276: “In using the prophetic metaphor of the cup, John shows that the tables are turned on Babylon the Great. She is made to drink from the cup which she herself poured (18,6), the golden cup filled with the abominations and impurities of her fornication (17,4), with which she intoxicated nations and their rulers (14,8; 17,2; 18,3). For this she must drain the cup of the wine of the fury of God’s wrath”.

(46) MULHOLLAND, *Revelation*, 288.

(47) VANNI, *La struttura*, 210-211.

After an angel affirms that what John has been commanded to write are the true words of God, he attempts to worship the angel. But the angel prevents him, identifying himself as a fellow servant of John and of his brothers who have the testimony of Jesus. The angel directs John to worship God, for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy (19,9-10). This further encourages the fellow servant and brothers in the audience to persevere in their worship of God alone (14,7), even to the point of being killed for not worshipping the beast (13,15), by following the example of the souls who were slaughtered for the word of God and the testimony they had (6,9). By holding to the testimony of Jesus they will be holding to the spirit of prophecy, thus following the example of the two prophetic witnesses (11,3-7) and keeping the words of prophecy (1,3), the true words of God written in the book (19,9).

As a further answer to the souls' prayer, John sees in the opened heaven that the rider of the white horse, the personified "Word of God" (19,13; see 6,2), for which the souls were slaughtered, "judges" (κρίνει, 19,11) in righteousness. In contrast to the blessing of those invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb (19,9), an angel invites all the birds flying in midheaven to gather for "the great supper" of God's judgment, in order to devour the flesh of kings, captains, the powerful, horses and their riders, of all—free and slave, small and great (19,17-18; see 6,15), thus including "the inhabitants of the earth" ⁽⁴⁸⁾.

In correspondence to the "short time" (χρόνον μικρόν, 6,11) the souls are told to rest in heaven while a number of their fellow servants and brothers are killed before the judgment, it is necessary that Satan, after being bound and locked in the abyss for a symbolical "thousand years" (20,1-2), be released for a comparatively "short time" (μικρόν χρόνον, 20,3). After John saw that those seated on the thrones were entrusted with the "judgment" (κρίμα) for which the souls prayed, he also saw that the souls beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God (see 6,9) ⁽⁴⁹⁾ lived and reigned with Christ for a "thousand years" (20,4) ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Their share

⁽⁴⁸⁾ D.A. McILRAITH, *The Reciprocal Love between Christ and the Church in the Apocalypse* (Rome 1989) 68.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ MULHOLLAND, *Revelation*, 309.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ On the thousand year reign as a special reward to the slaughtered souls in 6,9-11, see MOUNCE, *Revelation*, 359.

in this “first resurrection” (20,5-6) corresponds to their having been given the white robes as a symbol of their participation in the life of the risen Christ ⁽⁵¹⁾. That the souls will be priests of God and of Christ and will reign with him for a “thousand years” (20,6) anticipates the reign on earth of their fellow servants and brothers as a kingdom and priests for God (1,6; 5,10) ⁽⁵²⁾.

After the completion of the “thousand years” is followed by the “short time” of Satan’s release, which results in his eternal demise (20,7-10), the judgment finally takes place (20,11-15): the dead are “judged” (ἐκρίθησαν, 20,12) according to their works. Anyone whose name is not found written in the book of life is thrown into the lake of fire, the “second death”, together with Satan (20,10), the beast, and the false prophet (19,20). This definitively answers the souls’ prayer for God to judge “the inhabitants of the earth”, who have already been identified as those whose names are not written in the book of the life of the Lamb slaughtered from the foundation of the world (13,8; 17,8) ⁽⁵³⁾.

After the judgment, in the new heaven and new earth (21,1), there will be no more death (21,4) for the souls’ fellow servants and brothers who are to be killed during the “short time” of Satan’s release. In contrast to “the inhabitants of the earth” being condemned to the lake of fire (20,15), they will enter the new Jerusalem (21,10) as those whose names are written in the book of the life of the Lamb (21,27). As his “servants” (δοῦλοι, 22,3), they “will worship” (λατρεύσουσιν, 22,3; 7,15) the Lamb, thus joining

⁽⁵¹⁾ On 20,1-10 as a visional sequence recapitulating events before the second coming rather than chronicling events after it, see R.F. WHITE, “Reexamining the Evidence for Recapitulation in Rev 20:1-10”, *WTJ* 51 (1989) 319-344.

⁽⁵²⁾ VANNI, *L’Apocalisse*, 349-368.

⁽⁵³⁾ Although “the inhabitants of the earth” (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) are not explicitly mentioned in 20,11-15, they are implicitly included in the category of “anyone not found written (γεγραμμένος) in the book of life (ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς)” (20,15): In 13,8 “all the inhabitants of the earth (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) will worship it (the beast), everyone whose name is not written (γέγραπται) from the foundation of the world in the book of the life (ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς) of the Lamb who was slaughtered”. And in 17,8 “the inhabitants of the earth (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) whose name has not been written (γέγραπται) upon the book of life (ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς) from the foundation of the world will be amazed when they see the beast...”. See also BEAGLEY, *Apocalypse*, 36.

the white-robed crowd of souls in the heavenly cult. And so, in contrast to Satan, the beast, and the false prophet, who will be tormented in the lake of fire “for ever and ever” (20,10), and as a development of the “thousand years” during which the souls “will reign” (βασιλεύσουσιν, 20,6) with Christ, the servants of the Lamb, the liturgical assembly of the audience, will fulfill their task of being a kingdom and priests for God (1,6; 5,10), as they “will reign” (βασιλεύσουσιν) “for ever and ever” (22,5)⁽⁵⁴⁾.

5. *Concluding Liturgical Dialogue (22,6-21)*

The liturgical dialogue that concludes the Book in 22,6-21 recalls several key words, concepts, and themes of the fifth seal⁽⁵⁵⁾. The souls' prayer and its answer now reaches its climax. Although the souls were told to rest a “short time” while a number of their fellow servants and brothers are to be killed as they were before the judgment can take place, God has sent his angel to show his servants through the true and faithful words of the book what must happen “soon” (ἐν τάχει) (22,6; 1,1). Indeed, Jesus repeatedly promises that “I am coming soon (ταχύ!)” (22,7.12.20), for “the time is near” (22,10; 1,3). He is coming soon with his reward to execute judgment by repaying each according to his work (22,12). In response “the Spirit and the Bride”, that is, the inspired liturgical assembly, which includes the fellow servants and brothers to be killed, prays “Come, Lord Jesus!” (22,17.20)⁽⁵⁶⁾.

As they pray for the coming of Jesus in judgment, the audience is repeatedly exhorted to keep the words of the prophecy of the Book (22,7.9.10.18-19). By doing so they will be holding to the word of God and the testimony of Jesus (1,1-3) for which the souls were

⁽⁵⁴⁾ On Rev 21,1–22,5, see C. DEUTSCH, “Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rev 21,1–22,5”, *ZNW* 78 (1987) 106-126; R. H. GUNDRY, “The New Jerusalem: People as Place, not Place for People”, *NT* 29 (1987) 254-264.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ For an analysis of the liturgical dialogue in 22,6-21, see VANNI, *La struttura*, 298-302; id., “Liturgical Dialogue as a Literary Form in the Book of Revelation”, *NTS* 37 (1991) 348-372; M. A. KAVANAGH, *Apocalypse 22:6-21 as Concluding Liturgical Dialogue* (Dissertation Excerpt, Gregorian University; Rome 1984); McILRAITH, *Reciprocal Love*, 156-167.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ McILRAITH, *Reciprocal Love*, 156-167; J. FEKKES, “‘His Bride Has Prepared Herself’: Revelation 19–21 and Isaian Nuptial Imagery”, *JBL* 109 (1990) 269-287.

slaughtered and a number of their fellow servants and brothers will be killed (6,9-11).

After being slaughtered each of the souls was given a "white robe" (στολή λευκή) in heaven (6,11). Those wearing "white robes" (στολὰς λευκάς, 7,9.13) and worshipping the Lamb in heaven (7,9-17) are those who had been killed in the great distress; they have "washed" (ἔπλυναν) their "robes" (στολὰς) and made them "white" (ἔλεύκαναν) in the blood of the Lamb (7,14). Now declared as blessed are those who likewise "wash" (πλύνοντες) their "robes" (στολὰς, 22,14), thus making them white in the blood of the Lamb, as they endure being killed like the slaughtered souls. In the judgment, as those who kept the words of the prophecy of the Book, neither adding to nor subtracting from them, they will avoid the plagues and share in the "tree" and "water" of eschatological "life" that are described in the Book (22,14.17.18-19).

That Jesus himself "testifies" (μαρτυρῶν, 22,20) to the things that his angel, whom he sent "to testify" (μαρτυρῆσαι, 22,16) to the churches, "testifies" (μαρτυρῶ, 22,18) to all who hear the words of the prophecy of the Book provides the climactic and conclusive encouragement for the audience to endure even death for the "testimony" (μαρτυρίαν, 6,9) of Jesus Christ, who is coming soon.

Conclusion

As the only prayer of supplication in the Book of Revelation, the prayer of the slaughtered souls and its answer in the opening of the fifth seal (6,9-11) has a unique relationship to the entire book. With regard to the preceding context, the slaughter as well as heavenly reward of the souls is a consequence of the first four seals (6,1-8). The souls' prayer for judgment and vindication exemplifies the prayers of the holy ones that are offered in the heavenly worship (5,8). The word of God and testimony of Jesus for which the souls were slaughtered is demonstrated in the seven letters to the churches (2,1-3,22). And the souls' fellow servants and brothers to be killed like them are members of the liturgical assembly to whom the book is addressed (1,1-20).

With regard to the succeeding context, the souls' prayer sets the agenda for the remainder of the book, which provides various projections of the judgment and vindication for which the souls pray.

The vision of the crowd engaged in the heavenly worship of God and the Lamb (7,15-17) encourages the souls' fellow servants and brothers to endure a killing of their number with the assurance that they will survive the judgment of "the inhabitants of the earth" (6,12-17) and take their places in the heavenly worship (7,9-17).

The ascension of the two prophetic witnesses to heaven with new life from God after they have been killed by enemies demonstrates the vindication for which the souls have prayed (11,1-14).

The audience is urged to have endurance (13,10; 14,12) in worshipping God (14,7) rather than the beast, even if it means being killed (13,15), in order to join the souls in their heavenly rest after the judgment (14,9-13).

In contrast to Satan, the beast, the false prophet, and "the inhabitants of the earth", who will be tormented in the lake of fire "for ever and ever" (20,10.15), the souls' fellow servants will enter the new Jerusalem as those whose names are written in the book of the life of the Lamb (21,27) and will worship the Lamb (22,3) together with the white-robed crowd of souls in the heavenly cult (7,15); they will fulfill their task of being a kingdom and priests for God (1,6; 5,10), as they will reign "for ever and ever" (22,5).

As they keep the prophetic words of the Book, the audience, including the souls' fellow servants and brothers, looks forward to the coming of Jesus to judge and reward them with a share in his risen life (22,6-21).

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SOMMAIRE

La prière des âmes immolées et sa réponse lors de l'ouverture du sixième sceau en Ap 6,9-11 contiennent un thème qui traverse tout le livre. La réponse à la prière est un texte qui prévient l'assemblée liturgique à laquelle le livre est adressé que ses membres doivent être prêts à endurer la tribulation jusqu'à la mort, si nécessaire, pour rester fidèles à la parole de Dieu et témoigner de Jésus. D'autre part, ils sont assurés que Dieu et l'Agneau vont bientôt leur rendre justice, de sorte qu'ils peuvent espérer revêtir des robes blanches comme les âmes qui les ont précédées et jouir du repos céleste avec le Christ ressuscité.

ANIMADVERSIONES

Indicative and Imperative in Rom 6,21-22: The Rhetoric of Punctuation

Rom 6,21-22 is grammatically ambiguous. First, in v. 21 perhaps τίνα with the accent, an interrogative pronoun, is combined with the imperfect indicative εἶχετε to form a question ("What fruit did you have at that time...?"). Or perhaps τινά without the accent, an indefinite pronoun, is combined with εἶχετε to form a statement ("You had a certain kind of fruit at that time..."). Secondly, in v. 22 perhaps ἔχετε is an indicative mood verb, representing the author's statement about his audience ("You now produce a fruit which sanctifies"). Or perhaps ἔχετε is an imperative mood verb, encompassing the author's command to his audience ("Now produce a fruit which sanctifies"). In spite of the grammatical ambiguity, the punctuation both of the UBS³ and of the NA²⁶ texts partially predetermines the linguistic issue. I wish to argue that, rather than the interrogative and indicative punctuation advocated by most, Rom 6,21-22 contains an indicative and imperative construction which plays a vital role in Paul's immediate and wider rhetorical (i.e. argumentative) strategy⁽¹⁾. Of course, Paul's rhetoric did not rely on punctuation. But perhaps, by relying on our punctuation of Paul, we have misread his rhetoric⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The study of argumentative discourse, including Paul's, should not necessarily be limited to the rhetorical categories of the ancients. Although one might expect to learn much, for example, from the rhetorical handbooks about how individuals in the Greco-Roman world argued a point, argumentation is not genre-specific nor is its existence dependent upon one's education. Thus, the following discussion says little about ancient rhetorical categories, despite its potential applicability to Paul. Rather, the concern is with how one's punctuation of Rom 6,21-22—punctuation, of course, not part of the original text—affects an understanding of Paul's immediate argument in Rom 6,15–7,6. See the same application of rhetorical categories to Romans in A. B. DU TOIT, "Persuasion in Romans 1:1-17", *BZ* 33 (1989) 192-209.

⁽²⁾ Commentators consistently bypass discussion of the grammatical ambiguity present in vv. 21-22 regarding the main verbs. Concerning v. 21 D. MOO, *Romans 1-8* (Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary; Chicago 1991) 422-424 is typical of most, debating the placement of the question mark without questioning whether the clause should be treated as a question. C. K. BARRETT, *The Epistle to the Romans* (HNTC; New York 1957) 133, allows for only two punctuations of v. 21, both interrogative: "There are two ways, both grammatically possible, of punctuating this sentence. The question mark may be placed after 'that', or after 'ashamed'". For interrogative and indicative readings of vv. 21-22 see the respective treatments in C. E. B. CRANFIELD, *Romans I-VIII* (ICC; Edinburgh 1975); J. D. G. DUNN, *Romans 1-8* (WBC 38; Dallas 1988); E. KÄSEMANN, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids 1980) 187; M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Saint Paul Épître aux Romains* (EB; Paris 1950); F.-J. LEENHARDT, *L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Romains* (CNT 6;

Indicative and Imperative as Rhetorical Strategy

It is argued here that Rom 6,21-22, in somewhat over-generalized yet useful terms, comprises part of a so-called Pauline indicative-imperative argument⁽³⁾. Paul makes a statement (assertion) about the believer's standing in Christ and his past standing under sin, and then commands (directs) the believer to live in light of that assertion. Pauline scholars have long recognized the importance of this use of indicative and imperative mood forms as part of an assertion-command format in Paul (i.e. a theological foundation leading to an ethical exhortation)⁽⁴⁾. In 1924 Rudolf Bultmann dubbed this modal construction the basic structure of Pauline ethics⁽⁵⁾. Victor Paul Furnish likewise contends that "the relation of indicative and imperative, the relation of 'theological' proclamation and 'moral' exhortation, is the crucial problem in interpreting the Pauline ethic"⁽⁶⁾. Before and since Bultmann, various catch-phrases have been invented to capture the essence of Paul's usage⁽⁷⁾.

Paris 1957); H. SCHLIER, *Der Römerbrief Kommentar* (HTKNT 6; Freiburg 1979); H. W. SCHMIDT, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (THKNT 6; Berlin 1962) 114; W. SCHMITALS, *Der Römerbrief* (Gütersloh 1988); U. WILCKENS, *Der Brief an die Römer (Röm 6-11)* (EKKNT 6/2; 2d rev. ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1987); D. ZELLER, *Handeln aus Glauben: Die Motivierungen der Paulinischen Ethik* (MTS 5; Marburg 1968) 28-41. See, however, S. E. PORTER, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (BLG 2; Sheffield 1992) 55-56, who notes the possible use of the imperative in v.22 (but says nothing about v.21) and concludes: "Grammar alone cannot solve such an exegetical dispute". B. N. KAYE, *The Thought Structure of Romans with Special Reference to Chapter 6* (Austin, TX 1979) comes close to taking v.22 as an imperative: "The argument [of Rom 6,15-23] proceeds by a comparison of the past behaviour of the readers when they were not christians, with a present *expected* behaviour commitment" (emphasis mine). However, he fails to apply this understanding of the argumentative structure of Rom 6,15-23 to the grammar of vv. 21-22. B. M. NEWMAN-E. A. NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London 1973) 124, offer an indicative reading of v.21, but apparently for translation purposes and not because the Greek grammar allows it.

⁽³⁾ See the similar constructions in 1 Cor 5,7; 6,19-20; Gal 5,25; Phil 2,12-16; Col 3,1.

⁽⁴⁾ See e.g. the following works (including bibliographies therein): W. D. DENNISON, "Indicative and Imperative: The Basic Structure of Pauline Ethics", *Calvin Theological Journal* 14 (1979) 55-79; E. DINKLER, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus", *ZTK* 49 (1952) 167-200; H. FR. TH. L. ERNESTI, *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt* (Göttingen 1880); R. HASENSTAB, *Modelle paulinischer Ethik: Beiträge zu einem Autonomie-Modell aus paulinischem Geist* (Tübingen Theologische Studien 11; Mainz 1977); O. KUSS, *Der Römerbrief. II (Röm 6.11 bis 8.19)* (Regensburg 1963); MERK, *Handeln*, esp. 34-41; L. NIEDER, *Die Motive der religiös-sittlichen Paränese in den paulinischen Gemeindebriefen: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Ethik* (Münchener Theologische Studien; München 1956); R. C. TANNEHILL, *Dying and Rising with Christ: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Berlin 1967); H. WINDISCH, "Das Problem der paulinischen Imperative", *ZNW* 23 (1924) 265-281; and especially T. J. DEIDUN, *New Covenant Morality in Paul* (AnBib 89; Rome 1981).

⁽⁵⁾ R. BULTMANN, "Das Problem der Ethik bei Paulus", *ZNW* 23 (1924) 123-140.

⁽⁶⁾ V. FURNISH, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville 1968) 9. Furthermore, Furnish suggests that Romans 6 is crucial for understanding the Pauline ethic (216-217).

⁽⁷⁾ See especially P. WERNLE, *Der Christ und die Sünde bei Paulus* (Freiburg-

The issue central to most interpretations of the indicative and imperative concerns the relationship between the two moods. What force is there in the imperative if the indicative is already assured? And what profundity is there in the indicative if the imperative is mandatory? According to the indicative, does Paul advocate an "Ethik der Sündlosigkeit" ⁽⁸⁾? Or based on the imperative, does Paul end up with the very thing he supposedly opposes—works righteousness ⁽⁹⁾? Or are the indicative and imperative a compatible synthesis of traditional Jewish concepts of salvation by grace and judgement by works ⁽¹⁰⁾. Or must one conclude that Paul holds two irreconcilable principles concurrently ⁽¹¹⁾? Attempts to resolve this dilemma have largely focused on Paul's theology. Although theological and philosophical analysis raise legitimate questions, a rhetorical approach to the indicative-imperative formula sets aside ⁽¹²⁾, or at least makes subsidiary, philosophical and theological questions and attempts to describe what Paul "does" (to use a term from "speech act" theory) ⁽¹³⁾ to his audience with his grammar ⁽¹⁴⁾. In other words, how do the indicative and imperative

Leipzig 1897) 89; H. JACOBY, *Neutestamentliche Ethik* (Königsberg 1899) 316-317; R. BULTMANN, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. K. Grobel (New York 1951) I, 332; R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, trans. J. Holland-Smith and W. J. O'Hara (New York 21967) 271; G. BORNKAMM, "Baptism and New Life in Paul: Romans 6", *Early Christian Experience*, trans. P. L. Hammer (New York 1969) 83; FURNISH, *Theology and Ethics*, 225; DUNN, *Romans 1-8*, 337.

⁽⁸⁾ Objecting to such a conclusion, some have weakened the force of the indicative claiming that the indicative either has 'not yet' been realized, is an ideal, is conditional upon subsequent realization of the imperative, is only a possibility, or is to be understood in terms of the dialectic of *simul iustus et peccator*. For criticisms of these see DEIDUN, *Covenant Morality*, 239-242. He, instead, emphasizes the role of the indicative in the life of the believer, explaining the imperative accordingly: "The christian imperative demands only free acceptance of a gift that is made independently of it. The Christian is under obligation not to resist the inward action of God's Spirit which already impels him to free obedience" (243). This does not, however, explain the scenario of a Christian resisting the inward action of the Spirit and its resulting implications regarding the effectiveness of the indicative.

⁽⁹⁾ Unlike the indicative, few downplay the force of the imperative, since the possibility of sin and the subsequent need for directives is assumed both in the teaching of Paul and the praxis of his churches.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. E. P. SANDERS, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia 1977) 515-518.

⁽¹¹⁾ So apparently J. L. HOULDEN, *Ethics and the New Testament* (London 1973) 30.

⁽¹²⁾ I prefer the term "argumentation" when speaking in terms of Pauline rhetoric. Nevertheless, when "rhetoric" is used here it is understood broadly in terms of modern rhetorical theory, without implying that Paul necessarily employed the rhetorical categories of the technical handbooks. See also F. SIEGERT, *Argumentation bei Paulus: gezeigt an Röm 9-11* (WUNT 34; Tübingen 1985) 16-22.

⁽¹³⁾ See the now classic works of J. L. AUSTIN, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford 1962) and J. R. SEARLE, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge 1969).

⁽¹⁴⁾ The recent surge in rhetorical studies of the NT also highlights the argumentative structures of the texts, rather than the epistemological ones. Cf. the criticisms of a solely theological approach to Romans in W. WUELLNER, "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried-Karris Debate over Romans", *The Romans Debate* (ed. K. P. DONFRIED) (rev.; Peabody, MA 1991) esp. 128-132. For an insightful essay on the place of rhetorical studies within NT hermeneutics see S. M. POGOLOFF, "Isocrates and Contemporary Hermeneutics", *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. D. F. WATSON) (JSNTSS 50; Sheffield 1991) 338-362.

serve to persuade the Roman audience of the ethical implications of his message? This is not to say that philosophical questions raised by Paul's language are not significant; however, they can lead to a hermeneutical impasse. Is this impasse impassible? Or in the jocular words of two eminent rhetorical theorists:

Must we draw from... logic, and from the very real advances it has made, the conclusion that reason is entirely incompetent in those areas which elude calculation and that, where neither experiment nor logical deduction is in a position to furnish the solution of a problem, we can abandon ourselves to irrational forces, instincts, suggestion, or even violence⁽¹⁵⁾?

Indicative and Imperative as Rhetorical Strategy in Rom 6,20-23

The immediate context surrounding Rom 6,20-23 is clearly diatribal⁽¹⁶⁾. Verse 15 begins with the false conclusion of the interlocutor posed in the form of a rhetorical question, to which Paul responds with a terse "No!" followed by his own rhetorical question. In vv.17-18 Paul then develops his response with two points, the second of which contains two parallel subpoints (v.19b; 20-24). In 7,1-6 Paul adds a lengthy second response, with its corresponding development, which further addresses the initial false conclusion of the interlocutor in 6,15. Structurally, then, the whole of this section consists of the false conclusion of the interlocutor (6,15) and a threefold response from Paul: (i) an abrupt μή γένοιτο (6,15b); (ii) a response beginning with a rhetorical question (6,16-23); and (iii) another response beginning with a similar rhetorical question (7,1-6). Within this diatribal structure falls Rom 6,20-23.

The following translation and discourse chart⁽¹⁷⁾ succinctly encapsulate what the following exegetical discussion attempts to argue in detail. Paul writes:

For when you were slaves of sin, you were free with respect to righteousness, i.e. you did not have to serve it. Consequently, you produced a certain kind of fruit then, of which you are now ashamed because such things end in death. Now that you have been freed from sin but enslaved to God, produce (your) fruit which results in holiness. This will, in addition, result in eternal life. For indeed, the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

⁽¹⁵⁾ C. PERELMAN-L. OLBRECHTS-TYTECA, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, trans. J. Wilkinson-P. Weaver (Notre Dame 1969) 3.

⁽¹⁶⁾ On diatribe in Paul, see S.K. STOWERS, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (SBLDS 57; Chico CA 1981); id., "The Diatribe", *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament* (ed. D.E. AUNE) (SBLBS 21; Atlanta 1988) 71-83; and T. SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe": Eine vergleichende Stilinterpretation* (Münster 1987).

⁽¹⁷⁾ The chart attempts to connect the various textual components together by means of lines. These do not represent all of the cohesive ties in the text, but they do represent the major ones. Text marked off by brackets (i.e. []) designate words which have been displaced from their normal, linear, left-to-right path. The first of the displaced words (e.g. 6,22 [ἐλευθερωθέντες]) is included in brackets to show where the displaced text actually resides.

are used with statements concerning post-conversion life, either in the present time or near future (with respect to Paul's point of view). The aorist (background tense) adverbial participles (ἐλευθερωθέντες; δουλωθέντες) indicate information which provides the backdrop against which the command to "bear fruit" is given, i.e. the new information ("bear fruit") is built upon the old ("you were set free from sin and enslaved to God"). Furthermore, Paul's discussion in vv. 20-23 is significantly longer than that in v. 19b. This is expected in more prominent discourse. Verse 19b simply restates in slightly different fashion what Paul had previously explained. The new information in vv. 20-23, however, demands more detailed clarification. Consequently, more subordinate clauses and modifying prepositional phrases appear.

Structurally, vv. 20-23 parallel v. 19b. Verse 21 recounts the pre-conversion life. Verse 22 exhorts the interlocutor to observe certain post-conversion behaviors. In addition to the indicative-imperative structure, there is a conspicuous A B A' B' pattern (see chart). The A sections contain language concerning "slavery" and "freedom" (see v. 20 and the participial clause in v. 22). Presumably, this information precedes and confirms the corresponding B sections (vv. 21, 22-23), which concern the type of "fruit" one produces. For example, part A (v. 20) takes the form of an independent clause but is linked causally to part B (v. 21) by οὖν: "Indeed, when you were slaves of sin you were free with respect to righteousness (i.e. you did not have to serve righteousness). *Due to* that state of affairs you produced a certain kind of fruit, upon which you are now ashamed". Similarly, A' as an adverbial participle functions as the causal reason for B': "*Because* you were freed from sin and enslaved to God, produce fruit which results in holiness".

Now that the larger conceptual and structural features of Rom 6,20-23 have been discussed, a detailed inspection of the grammar is in order.

Verse 20 contains a dependent temporal clause (ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας "for when you were slaves of sin") which modifies an independent clause (ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ "you were free with respect to righteousness"). The former establishes the temporal framework for the independent clause. The audience's freedom with respect to righteousness took place "when" (ὅτε) they were slaves of sin. But "now" they are slaves to righteousness (cf. 6,18). The two clauses in v. 20 are syntactically parallel: the predicate adjectives are fronted in the clauses; the imperfect indicative copulative verbs follow; and then the dual instances of similar cases—dative and genitive—finish off the clauses. The dative τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ is an example of the dative of respect⁽²⁰⁾, denoting the relationship between the audience and righteousness. They were free *with respect* to righteousness, i.e. they did not have to serve it. Paul's argument is conspicuous: if one is enslaved to sin, then one cannot be enslaved to another; *therefore*, when enslaved to sin one is "free" as far as righteousness is concerned. Paul's argument is not that some have been

⁽²⁰⁾ So SCHLIER, *Der Römerbrief*, 212; BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *Greek Grammar*, par. 197.

freed “from” (ἀπό) righteousness (implying they were once enslaved to it), as he argues regarding sin (vv. 18.22). There is no implication that there was a time when righteousness characterized his audience’s life but was subsequently destroyed by an enslavement to sin. Paul simply uses the dative to denote a “relationship with respect to” righteousness (cf. 6,18). Finally, the genitive (τῆς ἁμαρτίας) modifying δοῦλοι is perhaps possessive. Sin, as a personified entity, “owned” you as slaves. More likely, however, it denotes one’s “enslavement to sin” (objective genitive). As this verse demonstrates, the indicative is not exclusively used with respect to the believer’s life in Christ, as it is primarily used in Rom 6,1-14. It also narrates life outside of Christ. Accordingly, in addition to the list of catch-phrases describing the indicative-imperative ethic one might add: “Be now what you once were not!”⁽²¹⁾. In this way Paul appeals to the full extent of the believer’s human experience (life before Christ, death with Christ, life in the Spirit, and future resurrection) in order to make an ethical exhortation⁽²²⁾. There are several motivations behind Paul’s imperative. In Rom 6,21 regret for deeds done in the past also serves to motivate the believer’s adherence to Paul’s imperative⁽²³⁾.

After presenting a negative portrait of humanity enslaved to sin, Paul draws a conclusion in v.21 signaled by οὖν. Humanity’s freedom with respect to righteousness, combined with sin’s mastery over them, “resulted in” or “caused” a certain type of behavior, viz. conduct that now is recognized for what it really is, “shameful”. Although the majority of commentators as well as the UBS³ and NA²⁶ critical editions punctuate at least part of v.21 as an interrogative, this understanding destroys the parallelism here with that of the indicative-imperative structure in v.19b. Moreover, such a reading undermines the flow of Paul’s argument.

Two reasons suggest that εἶχετε in v.21 is part of a statement, rather than a question (the grammatical forms are identical). First, the scholarly dispute over the placement of the question mark demonstrates that few are certain as to what question is precisely being posed by Paul. On the one hand, some place the question mark after ἐπαισχύνεσθε, thus taking the first two clauses as a complex question (“What kind of benefit or fruit did you have then, [when you lived in such things] of which you are now ashamed?”)⁽²⁴⁾. The implied answer to this question, according to most, is negative. That is, there was no benefit in living a life enslaved to sin⁽²⁵⁾. Indeed, the only outcome was death. On the other hand, the question mark could be positioned after τότε, with the relative clause standing

⁽²¹⁾ Or stated negatively: “Do not be what you once were”.

⁽²²⁾ Cf. J.P. SAMPLEY, *Walking Between the Times: Paul’s Moral Reasoning* (Minneapolis 1991) 7.

⁽²³⁾ For other motivations used in Paul’s exhortations see DEIDUN, *Covenant Morality*, 51-52.

⁽²⁴⁾ See W.C. SANDAY-A.C. HEADLAM, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh 1902) for arguments in favor of this view. Cf. the JB translation: “What did you get from this [evil lifestyle]?”

⁽²⁵⁾ J. MURRAY, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids 1959, 1965).

independently ("What kind of fruit did you have then? [You had these things] of which you are now ashamed")⁽²⁶⁾. According to this reading the first clause is a question and the second is a statement, with an elided element being assumed. Such controversy over the precise placement of the question raises the possibility that both verbal constructions form a statement rather than a question, which eliminates the problem of where to place the punctuation. Secondly, if the question mark is placed after τότε, the result is that the prepositional relative clause (ἐφ'οἷς...) stands on its own as an answer to the initial question. This needlessly creates another difficulty, however, since it disjoins the relative clause from any main clause—an awkward grammatical explanation. The alternative is to supply, for example, ἐκεῖνα ("those things")⁽²⁷⁾ as the answer to the initial question. The relative clause is supposedly to be attached to this single, elided word as a dependent modifier. Paul's question accordingly reads: "What fruit did you have then?" The answer: "[You had] *those things* of which you are now ashamed"⁽²⁸⁾. This solution, however, adds words to the text where none need be added. The problem of the relative clause, as well as the always dubious interpolation of missing words to clarify Paul's extant grammar, is eliminated if the complex sentence is a statement rather than a question. According to this reading of the clause as a statement, the relative pronoun οἷς would take καρπὸν as its antecedent⁽²⁹⁾, resulting in a dependent relationship between the relative clause and the main clause.

If the above understanding is correct, then the grammar of v.21 is as follows: εἴχετε is an imperfect indicative employed as part of a statement; enclitic τινα (indefinite pronoun), which modifies καρπὸν⁽³⁰⁾, should be read instead of τίνα (interrogative pronoun)⁽³¹⁾; the relative clause (ἐφ'οἷς...) *modifies* τινα καρπὸν, describing the "certain kind of (bad)"⁽³²⁾

⁽²⁶⁾ See esp. CRANFIELD, *Romans*, 328, for this view. SCHLIER, *Römerbrief*, 212 similarly finds a *Frage* and an *Antwort* in v.21.

⁽²⁷⁾ So CRANFIELD, *Romans*, 328, n.4. MOO, *Romans*, 423, briefly states "eph'hois is short for ἐκεῖνα (*ekeina*, 'those things') eph'hois", but gives no linguistic or contextual evidence for such a claim.

⁽²⁸⁾ So WILCKENS, *An die Römer (Röm 6–11)*, 33, adds *Dinge* to his translation; SCHLIER, *Römerbrief*, 205, adds *Solche*.

⁽²⁹⁾ The plural forms οἷς and ἐκείνων refer back to the collective noun καρπὸν, a case of *constructio ad sensum*. This change in grammatical number is also maintained by those who take one or both of the clauses as questions, since the supplied terms are plural: ἐκείνων and ἐκεῖνα (CRANFIELD, *Romans*, 328, n.4).

⁽³⁰⁾ Cf. the similar grammatical expression in Acts 16,16; 27,39; and esp. Rom 1,13.

⁽³¹⁾ The forefronted τινα... καρπὸν ("a certain kind of fruit") and its verb form a loose chiasmic construction with the verb and direct object in v.22 (A τινα... καρπὸν; B εἴχετε; B' ἔχετε; A' τὸν καρπὸν).

⁽³²⁾ It is often argued that elsewhere Paul only uses the word in a positive sense (i.e. "good fruit") (see esp. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* [ed. J. R. HARMER] [reprint; Grand Rapids 1980] 298). Therefore, so goes the argument, the same meaning must be in effect here. Thus in v.21 the word cannot denote a "bad" fruit or benefit. Such an argument is a linguistic fallacy. The essential or central meaning of καρπός does not include the idea that it must be "good". In other words, whether or not καρπός symbolizes good or bad fruit is determined from contextual usage and syntagmatic formulations. Therefore, regarding the issue of

fruit" which is "now" (νῦν) recognized for its shameful; the γάρ clause supplies the reason for their present shame concerning their past fruit, viz. they are ashamed *because* they realize that the end (τό... τέλος, "end, goal") of that kind of fruit is death.

The next exegetical issue regards the grammatical meaning of ἔχετε in v. 22. In this verse Paul contrasts (δέ) the type of fruit which is to be produced "now" (νῦν) with the type of fruit produced "then" (τότε)⁽³³⁾. Although rarely considered an option⁽³⁴⁾, ἔχετε is perhaps an imperative verb (the second person plural present indicative and imperative forms are identical)⁽³⁵⁾. Such a reading maintains the indicative-imperative (assertion-directive) flow of Paul's argument (cf. esp. v. 19)⁽³⁶⁾.

However, if ἔχετε is an imperative two issues must be determined, both involving the semantics of ἔχω and καρπός. The Greek word καρπός can metaphorically signify a fruit that represents "works, acts, deeds, conduct"⁽³⁷⁾. It is also used to refer to a "benefit, profit" (cf. Phil 4,17) for those who possess it⁽³⁸⁾. The second sense concatenates well with one

good and bad fruit (works) Paul's usage must be analyzed afresh in every instance. This could be the one instance where the word is used with a negative connotation. A stronger argument against such an interpretation may be found in Rom 7,5 ("bear fruit unto death") where a cognate form of καρπός (in the form of a compound verb; καρποφορέω) is clearly used in a negative sense.

⁽³³⁾ The characteristic use of the imperfect tense in a past time context also adds to the contrast in time between these two verses.

⁽³⁴⁾ The same lack of grammatical discussion by commentators is evident here as it is in v. 21 with respect to the ambiguous εἴχετε (see above).

⁽³⁵⁾ The second person plural ἔχετε appears 43 times in the NT, mostly as indicatives (Matt 5,46; 6,1,8; 15,34; 16,8; 26,11; 27,65; Mark 4,40; 6,38; 8,5; 8,17 (2x); 9,50; 11,22; 14,7; Luke 17,6; 24,41; John 6,38; 12,8(2x).35.36; 16,22.33; 21,5; Acts 7,1; 1 Cor 6,7.19; 11,22; Phil 2,29; 3,17; Col 1,4; 1 Thess 3,6; 5,1; Heb 5,12; 10,36; Jas 2,1; 3,14; 4,2(2x); 1 John 2,20.27; Rev 2,25). Of the eight uses in the Pauline epistles, Paul uses ἔχετε as an imperative in Phil 2,29. He also uses the second person singular imperative ἔχε in Rom 14,22. In addition, he uses the third person singular imperative ἔχτω twice in 1 Cor 7,2 (cf. Jas 1,4).

⁽³⁶⁾ There is a remote possibility that v. 22 is a command (imperative), while v. 21 is a question (interrogative). For example, if the answer to Paul's question in v. 21 is "you had a fruit of which you are now ashamed" or "you had an unholy or evil fruit" then it is possible to take v. 21 as a question and yet take v. 22 as a command. According to this reading, in v. 21 Paul answers his own question with the statement "You had an evil fruit then...". This would furnish a convenient setting for Paul's ensuing command (v. 22) that they produce a fruit leading to sanctification. Nevertheless, by taking v. 21 as a statement rather than as a question, the need for supplying all or part of the answer to Paul's question is eliminated. Paul simply follows his indicative, which concerns pre-conversion life, with an imperative, which pertains to the production of "fruit" in post-conversion life. This understanding, as opposed to the interrogative-imperative view, also retains the structural parallelism between v. 19b and vv. 20-23.

⁽³⁷⁾ Cf. J. P. LOUW-E. A. NIDA, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (New York 1988) I, 512, who include καρπός in the semantic domain of "do, perform" (42.13). In the Pauline letters καρπός functions in primarily three ways, with reference to the product of ministerial labor (Phil 1,22), the product of ethical or spiritual conduct (Gal 5,22-23 [contrast τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός in v. 19]; Phil 1,11; cf. Eph 5,9), and literally the harvest of the field (1 Cor 9,7; cf. 2 Tim 2,6).

⁽³⁸⁾ W. BAUER, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early*

meaning of ἔχω, “to obtain”⁽³⁹⁾, supporting the indicative reading of the verb. According to such a reading, Paul is saying that “you obtained a benefit (eternal life?)”, after being enslaved to God. An imperatival interpretation of ἔχετε is almost surely eliminated with this understanding of καρπός, since it is dubious that Paul’s purpose is to command believers to obtain a benefit which he believed had already been endowed to them at conversion and which was something to be anticipated in the future. Another sense of ἔχω, “to have, possess” with respect to personal characteristics⁽⁴⁰⁾, in some contexts conveys the active process of *doing* something⁽⁴¹⁾. This would allow for the sense of “to produce, generate, bring about”, which corresponds well with the other primary meaning of καρπός, “good works”. In other words, in this understanding Paul commands: “Produce a fruit of good works”. The most telling evidence for this interpretation of the lexical items is found in the letter of Romans itself. In 1,13 Paul informs the church at Rome that he had often planned to visit them ἵνα τινά καρπὸν σχῶ ἐν ὑμῖν (“in order that I may have a certain fruit among you”), using both ἔχω and καρπός in the same clause. Here again Paul speaks in terms of several possible types of fruit, of which he desires a *certain* kind (τινα). He desires to “have a certain fruit” (i.e. to do, produce, generate a good work) in Rome just as he has had among all the nations. Regarding his previous ministry, he is not speaking of a “benefit” which he received from the nations, but something he had actively “done” among them, viz. εὐαγγελίσασθαι (“to announce the gospel”)⁽⁴²⁾. Similarly, he desires to minister in Rome. Rom 7,4-5 is an even more telling example. Here Paul unmistakably uses καρποφορέω, a compound verb using cognate καρπός, in the sense of “good works” (cf. Col 1,6.10). Such good works can be “presented, offered” to God or to personified Death. The near vicinity of this passage as well as the distinctly parallel usage in 1,13 suggest that in 6,21-22 Paul is perhaps speaking about

Christian Literature, trans. W. F. Arndt–F. W. Gingrich; rev. F. W. Gingrich–F. W. Danker (Chicago 21979), s.v. καρπός 2.a,b.

⁽³⁹⁾ BAUER, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἔχω I.2.g.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ BAUER, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἔχω I.2.e.β.

⁽⁴¹⁾ For example, Paul’s triadic statements about love in 1 Cor 13,1-3 all begin with compound clauses in the protasis of a conditional. Each protasis contains the clause ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω (“... but I have not love”), which takes on an active sense as would be expressed by the simple verb (ἀγαπᾶω, “... but I do not love”). Paul is not merely describing the possession of a loving spirit, but the actual loving of others. Cf. the similar use of ἔχω with a substantive in v.2 (ἔχω προφητείαν and ἔχω πίστιν). This understanding of ἔχω with a substantive is supported by Paul’s use of simple verbs in the protasis, followed by the ἔχω construction. For example, in v.1 he states: “If I *speaking* (λαλῶ) in the tongues of angels, but do not love...”.

⁽⁴²⁾ Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 55, who argues against M. A. Kruger’s claim that καρπός here as in Rom 15,28 refers to the collection (i.e. benefit?) for the saints in Jerusalem (“Tina Karpon, ‘Some Fruit’, in Rom. 1:13”, *WTJ* 49 [1987] 168-170): “*Karpōs* must refer to the product of his apostolic labors (cf. Phil. 1,22)”. Even if one accepts Kruger’s argument, καρπός in Rom 15,28 need not mean a “benefit” of the collection, but could denote the “work” regarding the collection for Jerusalem.

Christians who produce or bear good fruit (works), giving further cause for taking ἔχετε in v. 22 as an imperative.

The most telling criticism, however, against reading Rom 6,21-22 as an interrogative-indicative (question-statement) rather than an indicative-imperative (statement-command) is that it disrupts the flow of Paul's argument. In v. 19b Paul has just finished giving a command (using an imperative) in light of a foregone assertion (using an indicative) (παρεστήσατε... παραστήσατε): "Just as you *offered* the parts of your body as slaves unto uncleanness and ever-increasing iniquity, thus now *offer* the parts of your body as slaves to righteousness leading to holiness". Moreover, the indicative is used to recount pre-conversion behavior and the imperative is used to command the audience to a different kind of behavior. Those who would advocate an interrogative-indicative view of vv. 21-22 must argue that Paul switches from an imperatival setting in v. 19b to a wholly indicative discussion of the believer's conduct in vv. 20-23. In other words, after giving a command in v. 19b Paul purportedly continues his argument by describing the good fruit which the audience is actually bearing. One would expect a more persuasive argument from Paul, in which, for example, he *first* describes the present fruit-filled conduct of believers and *then* turns to exhort them to continue in such righteous, holy conduct. According to an interrogative-indicative reading of Rom 6,21-22, however, Paul argues the reverse, first commanding believers in v. 19b (παρεστήσατε) to offer their members as slaves to righteousness and then in v. 22 describing how they are actually producing "a fruit resulting in sanctification". This is what Roger Mohrland suggests when he claims that in Rom 6,22 Paul "reaffirms his confidence in his readers that *they* are not living in the way of sin and death"⁽⁴³⁾. Such an argument by Paul is self-evidently destructive⁽⁴⁴⁾. Why command the believer to offer himself as a slave to righteousness, if the believer's deeds already manifest such an offering? Paul probably argued a stronger case, and the indicative-imperative understanding of the grammar in vv. 21-22 provides an option more benevolent to Paul's rhetorical ability. Furthermore, the oft-noted presence of the indicative and imperative throughout Romans 6⁽⁴⁵⁾ supports the possibility of an indicative-imperative reading at the end of the chapter⁽⁴⁶⁾. Indeed, if Paul were to give up the tension of the indicative and

⁽⁴³⁾ R. MOHRLAND, *Matthew and Paul: A Comparison of Ethical Perspectives* (Cambridge 1984) 61.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is always possible that Paul did not realize the folly of his argument. But perhaps he deserves more credit than that, especially since the grammar of the text befits such credit.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ TANNEHILL, *Dying and Rising*, 77, states, "It has frequently been noted that Paul can connect an imperative with an indicative of the same content. We find this in its most developed form in Rom. 6". Cf. MERK, *Handeln*, 34.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ J.P. HEIL, *Romans—Paul's Letter of Hope* (AnBib 112; Rome 1987) 44-45, labels this section, *We Christians Must Live the New Life of Hope*: Rom 6,15-23. However, he does not treat the grammatical ambiguity in vv. 21-22, which, if taken as an interrogative-indicative, suggests that Paul already believes his audience is living the new life of hope. An indicative-imperative reading would better fit Heil's label.

imperative and move solely to an indicative towards the end of his diatribe in Romans 6, the effectiveness of his larger argument would have been jeopardized. Regardless of the reading adopted, it is being emphasized here that how one takes the grammar of the text impacts how one understands the rhetoric of the text.

The closing verses of Paul's argument require brief comment. Paul's contrast between v.21 and v.22 is straightforward: "You previously produced a fruit which leads to death. But now produce a fruit which results in holiness and which also leads to eternal life"⁽⁴⁷⁾. In light of the "bad" fruit which was evident in pre-conversion life (i.e. before initiation into the "Christian" world) and because of the potential for similar conduct in post-conversion life, Paul commands the audience to produce (ἔχετε; imperative) "your fruit into sanctification" (τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν). The prepositional εἰς phrase modifies τὸν καρπὸν ("a type of fruit which leads to sanctification"; cf. v.19b) and not the whole clause ("produce fruit, and by doing so the result will be sanctification"). This is evident from Paul's distinction in v.21 and v.22 between certain kinds or types (τινά) of fruit, not the process of bearing fruit, since "bearing fruit" is assumed in each instance. In other words, Paul makes it a point to say that each sphere of existence—pre- and post-conversion—produces fruit (cf. 7,4-5). However, the fruits produced are different. One fruit is described as "shameful", with the relative clause (ἐφ'οἷς...) modifying τινά... καρπὸν. The other is described as leading "into sanctification" (implying a "good" type of fruit), with εἰς ἁγιασμόν modifying τὸν καρπὸν. The exact sense of εἰς, however, is difficult to identify. Whether it denotes a fruit that "results in sanctification" or a fruit that "leads into sanctification", the semantic difference is minimal, with the verbal noun ἁγιασμόν denoting the process or event that leads to ἅγιος ("holiness"). The fruit, then, which Paul commands his audience to produce is of a kind which results or ends in sanctification. Such a process fits well with the following verbless clause (τὸ δὲ τέλος αἰώνιον).

The closing γάρ clause springs from the preceding clause. But, more precisely, the verse summarizes the whole argument of vv. 20-23, since its contrast is between the clause τὸ... τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος in v.21 and the clause τὸ... τέλος ζωῆν αἰώνιον in v.22. Paul employs a maxim here which suitably supports his argument. The wages or payment (ὀψώνια) which comes from personified sin itself (τῆς ἁμαρτίας) is death (θάνατος)⁽⁴⁸⁾. In contrast (δέ), the gift (τὸ... χάρισμα) which comes from God (τοῦ θεοῦ) is eternal life (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). What Paul does not specify is the reason for the

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The imperative ἔχετε is modified by two participial clauses, which form a causal relationship with the finite verb: "Because you were freed from sin (ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας; ἀπό + genitive of origin or place) and enslaved to God (τῷ θεῷ; dative of advantage), [I command you to] produce fruit...".

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The genitive is probably one of source ("wages which come from personified sin"), since this would parallel nicely the other genitive τοῦ θεοῦ ("gifts which come from God"). However, it should at least be entertained that Paul omits any parallel between the genitives and means by τῆς ἁμαρτίας a "wage for the one who sins".

payment of death or the reason for the *gift* of eternal life. It is not self-evident that the payment of death results from the sinful activities of humans. It could simply be that service to sin is recompensed with death (a not very alluring payment!). In either case, the first part of the γάρ clause (v. 23a) implies some sort of service to sin. Hence one would assume that the gift in v. 23b results from some sort of service to God. In other words, the gift is not unshackled, in that God dispenses it to whoever comes along. For Paul the basis of eternal life is faith. But he implies by using the imperative in v. 22 that righteous behavior, which ultimately results in complete holiness, also precedes eternal life.

The final γάρ clause also forms a suitable *inclusio* for Paul's initial argument in v. 10. He toys: "So, Mr. Interlocutor, you wish to sin. Well, consider something before you make such a decision. If you serve sin, the payment you will receive from him is death. If you serve righteousness (v. 19b), the gift you will receive from God is eternal life. Now, Mr. Interlocutor, which option outshines the other? Which one is preferable?"

Conclusion

Whereas few have even entertained an indicative-imperative reading of Rom 6,21-22, it has been argued above that the grammar of the text suggests such a reading and the rhetoric of the text almost demands it. Grammatically, v. 21 is interpreted as follows: εἶχετε is an imperfect indicative, not an imperative; τίνα (enclitic) is an indefinite pronoun, not an interrogative pronoun; the relative clause (ἐφ'οἷς...) modifies τίνα καρπὸν, describing a "certain kind of bad fruit", not "good fruit", which is "now" (νῦν) recognized for its shamefulness. Furthermore, ἔχετε in v. 22 is read as an imperative, rather than an indicative. The interpretation of both the indicative and imperative partly depends upon one's semantic assessment of ἔχω and καρπός. It is argued above that ἔχω is best understood in the sense of "to produce, to bring forth" and καρπός in the sense of "good works". Translated concisely, vv. 21-22 read: "You once produced an evil type of fruit. Now produce a good type of fruit".

Aside from these grammatical reasons, rhetorical ones are equally, if not more, in favor of an indicative-imperative interpretation. After gaining his audience's benevolent attention both by describing their present standing "in Christ" and by recounting their transfer from the "old" realm under sin's rule to the "new" realm under God's rule, Paul turns to more sober realities by entreating them to abandon their old life and to live in accordance with their new standing in Christ. The above study argues that Rom 6,21-22 follows such a Pauline rhetorical pattern, paralleling similar indicative-imperative patterns in Romans 6 (esp. v. 19b). Verse 21 recounts the old life (using the indicative). Verse 22 promotes the new (using the imperative). A rhetorical approach to Paul's formula suggests that the Gordian knot tied by his ethic should not be allowed to obscure the effectiveness of his rhetoric. Indeed, when propositional, or theological, analysis of a discourse isolates semantic meaning from pragmatic (and argumentative) effect, the end result is a

narrow, if not skewed, understanding of the use of language⁽⁴⁹⁾. Rather than a philosophical inquiry into Paul's logic, a rhetorical approach suggests a more pragmatic answer to the problem of the indicative and imperative. Paul's goal for his indicative-imperative formula is not solely that of theological understanding but, more importantly, righteous living. Perhaps Paul did not notice the contradiction of the indicative and imperative because none was intentionally communicated. Perhaps, the Roman audience did not fret over the seeming contradiction of the indicative and imperative. Perhaps, instead, they were persuaded to live by it.

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⁽⁴⁹⁾ G. BROWN-G. YULE, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge 1983) 106-124.

Tradition and Transformation

Aspects of Innerbiblical Interpretation in 2 Chronicles 20

The author of the Book of Chronicles has allotted much space to King Jehoshaphat. Unlike the Deuteronomistic History which has devoted only one chapter (1 Kgs 22,1-51) to this king, the Chronicler's account of Jehoshaphat fills no less than four chapters (2 Chr 17,1-21,1), i.e. one hundred and four verses⁽¹⁾. Setting aside David and Solomon, who absolutely take the lead by occupying about half of the Book of Chronicles, Jehoshaphat, for example, is hardly inferior to Hezekiah — whose account fills one hundred and seventeen verses — and is much more in the Chronicler's spotlight than King Josiah, who 'only' has sixty verses. By doing so the Chronicler has explicitly made Jehoshaphat one of the major kings of his book.

I. 2 Chr 20: Different Ways of Interpretation

Much time and energy has been spent in exposing the origin and possible historical kernel of the intriguing narrative on Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 20. The question of the literary and traditio-historical relations between 2 Chr 20 and 2 Kgs 3, however, distracts the reader from the text itself to a rather hypothetical discussion⁽²⁾. The solution of the problem as proposed by Martin Noth is in itself very interesting. On the basis of the geographical names in 2 Chr 20 Noth feels confident that the narrative must be considered a local tradition ('Lokalüberlieferung'). The story therefore deals with an invasion of Judean villages south of Bethlehem by Nabataeans in about 300 BC⁽³⁾. Noth's hypothesis has been disputed by Wilhelm Rudolph, who thinks it quite likely that the historical kernel of the narrative has been modelled upon an invasion by a group of Edomites from the time of Jehoshaphat himself⁽⁴⁾. Otto Eissfeldt, on the other hand, has typified 2 Chr 20 as a very clear specimen of the Chronicler's 'wirklichkeitsblinde Geschichtsauffassung'⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Fifty-nine of them belong to the Chronicler's 'Sondergut'; K. STRÜBIND, *Tradition als Interpretation in der Chronik* (BZAW 201; Berlin 1991) 110-114.

⁽²⁾ STRÜBIND, *Tradition*, 129-132. In my opinion the text of 2 Chr 20 in its present form cannot have been adopted directly from 2 Kgs 3, because there are too many differences between both texts.

⁽³⁾ M. NOTH, "Eine palästinische Lokalüberlieferung in 2 Chr. 20", *ZDPV* 67 (1945) 45-74.

⁽⁴⁾ W. RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen 1955) 258-259.

⁽⁵⁾ O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen 1956) 663.

Instead of going into the scientific controversy about the possible historical points of contact in 2 Chr 20⁽⁶⁾, we would rather advocate another approach to this text. The overall framework for it has been presented in a way by Peter Welten. In his rather technical monograph he makes it plausible that the hypotheses of both Noth and Rudolph regarding the historical reliability of 2 Chr 20 can be considered in a quite different way⁽⁷⁾. The narrative forms part of a quintet of stories about successful wars⁽⁸⁾, all of which belong to the so-called 'chronistisches Sondergut'. All five narratives should make it clear that threats of war afflicting the religious community of Judah can only be averted with God's help.

In order to support Welten's view and to deepen it, we wish to offer a comment upon 2 Chr 20,6-20 in which full attention is paid to the literary and theological expressiveness of the Jehoshaphat-passage. As a consequence of both literary and theological phenomena this text appears to be a point of condensation of the Chronicler's theology. The biblical author is presenting here to his readers nothing less than a hermeneutical and theological paradigm of how they themselves should act.

II. The Rhetorical Framework

The Book of Chronicles contains a remarkable number of speeches which, in comparison with the Books of Samuel and Kings, reveals a very important fact: here the Chronicler explicitly takes his own line. Out of twenty-one royal addresses presented by him, no less than seventeen are his own creation. Fourteen prophetic addresses out of a total number of eighteen have no parallel in Samuel-Kings⁽⁹⁾. Dealing with nine royal prayers in 1-2 Chronicles, four of them cannot be found in the parallel texts of Samuel and Kings⁽¹⁰⁾.

In narrative biblical texts addresses and prayers play an important role most of the time. They offer the author a welcome opportunity to create at such points condensed moments of what is important to him⁽¹¹⁾. As the

⁽⁶⁾ On Nimrud Tablet 400, which gives an account of the third campaign of Tiglath-pileser III against Gaza in 734-733, one comes across the name *Mu'unaya*. There is a possibility that this name refers to the same people which in 2 Chr 20,1 (and elsewhere) are called 'Meunites'. See H. TADMOR, "The Me'unites in the Book of Chronicles in the Light of an Assyrian Document" (Hebr.), *Bible and Jewish History* (Fs J. Liver; Tel Aviv 1971) 222-231.

⁽⁷⁾ P. WELTEN, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellungen in den Chronikbüchern* (WMANT 42; Neukirchen 1973) 115-172, esp. 166-172.

⁽⁸⁾ 2 Chr 13,3-20; 14,8-14; 20,1-30; 26,6-8, and 27,5-6.

⁽⁹⁾ The material has been collected by R. DUKE, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler* (JSOTSS 88; Sheffield 1990) 128-129, 133, 171-172, 175-176. See also R. MASON, *Preaching the Tradition. Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge 1990).

⁽¹⁰⁾ 1 Chr 29,10-19; 2 Chr 14,11; 20,6-12, and 30,8-19. DUKE, *Persuasive Appeal*, 169, in my opinion is incorrect in mentioning 2 Chr 24,22 here, as it is a prayer of the priest Zekariah.

⁽¹¹⁾ O. PLÖGER, "Reden und Gebete im deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtswerk", id., *Aus der Spätzeit des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen 1977) 50-66;

composition of 2Chr 20 contains not only a royal prayer (vv. 6-13), but also a prophetic (vv. 14-17) and a royal address (v. 20), a further analysis of these passages seems appropriate. An investigation of these texts is the more desirable as the author of the Book of Chronicles in each of these three pericopes has made use of allusions and quotations from texts which both to him and to his readers were easily recognizable as constitutive elements from Israel's tradition. As these biblical texts, however, have not been adopted in a merely mechanical way, but have been transformed into a new literary and theological setting, we especially want to pay attention to that aspect⁽¹²⁾.

1. The Royal Prayer

There can be no doubt that 2Chr 20,3-5, which is the preamble to Jehoshaphat's prayer, contain sufficient literary and theological ingredients⁽¹³⁾ to characterize the subsequent prayer of Jehoshaphat as a national lament⁽¹⁴⁾. From here on, the narrative has a *liturgical* setting which will pervade the rest of the narrative.

Putting aside a number of syntactical questions⁽¹⁵⁾, the first biblical allusion is to be found in 2Chr 20,7b. The phrase *zera' 'abrāhām 'ōhabēkā*, which immediately reminds one of Isa 41,8, within the rhetorical⁽¹⁶⁾ and theological process of the king's prayer constitutes an important moment. For in the words 'the descendants of your friend Abraham' both the generation of the Conquest and the present community of 2Chr 20 are felt to be typified. The temporal description *le'ōlām* offers extra emphasis to

G. MAIER, "Die Funktion der Gebete in den alttestamentlichen Apokryphen", *Theokratia* (Festgabe für K. H. Rengstorf). *Jahrbuch des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* II (1970-1972) 16-25.

⁽¹²⁾ A separate article, entitled "King Jehoshaphat's Prayer", will discuss a number of syntactical questions which arise in 2Chr 20,6-13.

⁽¹³⁾ Especially the formulae *dāraš lyhwh* (v. 3) and *biqqēš 'et yhw* (v. 4a.4b), and the proclamation of a fast (v. 3) strengthen this view; see G. GERLEMAN - E. RUPRECHT, "drš, fragen nach", *THAT* I, 460-467; S. WAGNER, "dāraš", *TWAT* II, 313-329; G. GERLEMAN, "bqš pi, suchen", *THAT* I, 333-336; S. WAGNER, "biqqēš", *TWAT* I, 754-770; C. WESTERMANN, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im Alten Testament", *KD* 6 (1960) 2-30 (= id., *Forschung am Alten Testament* [ThB 55; München 1974] 162-190). C. BEGG, "Seeking Yahweh and the Purpose of Chronicles", *Louvain Studies* 9 (1982) 128-141. I did not have at my disposal the doctoral thesis of G. E. SCHAFER, *The Significance of Seeking God in the Purpose of the Chronicler* (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary 1972).

⁽¹⁴⁾ A detailed analysis of this 'Gattung' is given by H. GUNKEL, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (Göttingen 31975), 117-139. A concise summary in H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalmen 1-63* (BK XV,1; Neukirchen 41972) LI-LII; S. J. DE VRIES, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL XI; Grand Rapids 1989) 325, goes against the *opinio communis* that 2Chr 20,6-12 is a national lament: '... this is wrong because its genre is PRAYER with a number of subordinate elements ...'. Describing those elements, however, he in fact enumerates all the characteristics of the national lament (326)!

⁽¹⁵⁾ E.g. the precise range of the rhetorical particle *hālō'* in v. 6 and v. 7, as well as the function of *'ēlōhēnū* in v. 7, which will be discussed in my "King Jehoshaphat's Prayer".

⁽¹⁶⁾ The threefold occurrence of *hālō'* (vv. 6.7.12), together with *wē'attā* (v. 10), to a high degree structure the entire prayer: v. 6 / vv. 7-9 / vv. 10-11 / vv. 12-13.

that process of identification between former and present generations. The descendants of Abraham have taken over the position of the inhabitants of the land. At the text's level, this happens very literally with the help of an identical root: *yōšēbê* (v. 7) / *wayyēšēbū* (v. 8). V. 8 suggests that the activity of Abraham's offspring may have merely consisted in building the sanctuary⁽¹⁷⁾. Precisely that kind of presentation is typical Chronicist theology; for the purpose of the conquest is the Temple⁽¹⁸⁾. One should note also that the Chronicler is stating here very emphatically that the descendants of Abraham, viz. the people of Israel, built the Temple; whereas everywhere else in Israel's tradition it is described as an activity exclusively attributed to King Solomon.

The generation which built the Temple is presented in v. 9 with the help of a quotation which, although it cannot be found in exactly the same words elsewhere⁽¹⁹⁾, undeniably refers to Solomon's prayer in 2 Chr 6,24-39 (especially v. 28). This reference to that 'proto-liturgical' Solomonic event functions as a necessary preamble to Jehoshaphat's pleading with God to listen in order to get Israel out of this untenable situation. The king is doing no less than applying Solomon's conditional sayings to the present situation of the community which has gathered in the Temple in prayer.

Subsequent to the Solomon reference, the reader in v. 10 would expect an urgent cry for help. Strangely enough, this will not be put into words until we reach the root *šāpaṭ* in v. 12. In vv. 10-11 Jehoshaphat (or the author) is manoeuvring God into a theological situation of a very accusatory kind. God, he states, explicitly *forbade* Israel during its exodus from Egypt to attack the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, and Seir. YHWH himself, therefore, has created our present situation of distress.

The biblical texts on which the Chronicler seems to have based his argument, however, present a completely different course of things. The Chronicler, in fact, has manipulated two existing traditions in such a way that his new concept brings about a very substantial accusation addressed at God. For, in Deut 2,1-22, Israel is given permission by God to cross the territories of Seir, Moab and Ammon, with an explicit prohibition of provoking these peoples to combat. In Num 20,14-21 and Judg 11,14-18, however, Edom and Moab categorically refuse right of passage, and this forced Israel to detour. The Chronicler, out of these two divergent tradi-

⁽¹⁷⁾ The position of the *atnach* underneath *wayyēšēbū-bāh* strengthens this impression.

⁽¹⁸⁾ P. WELTEN, "'Lade - Tempel - Jerusalem'". Zur Theologie der Chronikbücher, *Textgemäss. Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments* (Fs E. Würthwein; [Hrsg. A. H. J. GUNNEWEG - O. KAISER] Göttingen 1979) 169-183; H. G. M. WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; London 1982) 28-31.

⁽¹⁹⁾ With regard to the textcritical problem of *špôt* a few remarks must be given. Many exegetes have rearranged the Hebrew consonants and they read *wēšēṭep*. For two reasons I do not follow that conjecture: first because the root *špṭ* plays an important role within the Jehoshaphat-story (esp. 2 Chron. 19,4-11 and 20,12); secondly because the word *špôt* is used in Ezek 23,10 too, where it also functions in a kind of parallelism with 'sword'.

tions, has created one completely new textual complex in which God's order to spare these three peoples has been linked with the motif of avoiding their territories⁽²⁰⁾.

The order in which the names of the attacking armies appear in 2 Chr 20,10 is exactly the inverse of the series of names as reflected in Deuteronomy 2. In itself this should not be remarkable, except 2 Chr 20,11 has used the notion *y^eruššâ* — with the possessive *-kâ* referring to God — to describe the situation of acute danger.

The word *y^eruššâ* must be noted, because it uncovers an aspect of the Chronicler's text which, as far as we are aware, has never been discussed so far. In the entire Old Testament, the word *y^eruššâ* is found fourteen times. Ascertaining however that *y^eruššâ* is used six times in one and the same context, viz. Deuteronomy 2, makes a difference. Of course, one might call it an accident; but these six occurrences also refer precisely to those verses in which God is explicitly allotting a territory to these three peoples. And, as the Chronicler in other texts of his book is copying *nahâlâ* from his source⁽²¹⁾, the appearance of *y^eruššâ* in 2 Chr 20,11 is strong evidence that the author is performing here as the 'executor of the Deuteronomist's bequeathal'⁽²²⁾; although from time to time he does not hesitate to accentuate favourite items of his own.

Starting from Old Testament traditions, the Chronicler has created his own perspective which — reinforced by its retrospective character — functions as a direct accusation against God: You are to blame for our present situation of distress. In this way the Chronicler has provided King Jehoshaphat with a massive argument to appeal to God to take action in favour of his people⁽²³⁾.

In the appeal to God for help (v.12), which both in its opening ('*êlôhênû*) and in its literary form (rhetorical question) immediately reminds one of the opening lines of the prayer (vv. 6-7), Jehoshaphat makes his final supplication to God. On the one hand, this is done with the help of the verb *šāpaṭ*⁽²⁴⁾, a subtle pun on his own name, while on the other hand with the help of a contrasting *inclusio* on *kōaḥ* (v.6b) the people's inadequacy is emphasized. In this way the royal prayer is also continued with a characteristic theological feature of the Chronicler: the awareness of man's inability as opposed to faith in God's power⁽²⁵⁾.

⁽²⁰⁾ Cfr. G. VON RAD, *Das Geschichtsbild des Chronistischen Werkes* (BWANT IV,3; Stuttgart 1930) 77-78. S. JAPHET, "Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles", *JBL* 98 (1979) 205-218, has strikingly enough left out of consideration 2 Chr 20,10-11.

⁽²¹⁾ 1 Chr 16,18; 2 Chr 6,27; 10,16.

⁽²²⁾ T. WILLI, *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (FRLANT 106; Göttingen 1972) 224: 'Testamentsvollstrecker der Deuteronomisten'.

⁽²³⁾ I therefore disagree absolutely with Plöger, who contends that the particular aspect of the Chronicler's prayers is not to be shown from their *content* so much as by their presence; contra PLÖGER, "Reden", 63.

⁽²⁴⁾ As far as I am aware, here in the Old Testament we come across the only example of a construction in which the object of *šāpaṭ* is preceded by *b^e*.

⁽²⁵⁾ WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 297; THRONTVEIT, *When Kings Speak*, 71.

The community, whose presence so far has only been reported indirectly, viz. through Jehoshaphat (v. 5), in v. 13 steps from behind the king and shows its full dimension: 'all men of Judah ... with their dependants, their wives, and their children ...' (REB). The narrative arch which in v. 5 opens with the statement: 'Jehoshaphat stood ... in the house of the LORD ...', gets its necessary climax in the phrase 'all the men of Judah stood before the LORD' (v. 13)⁽²⁶⁾.

2. *The Prophetic Address*⁽²⁷⁾

In v. 14 the next speaker, Jahaziel, is introduced, in an unusually extensive genealogy which traces him back to King David's time⁽²⁸⁾, and with the help of the apposition 'a Levite of the line of Asaph' liturgical-cultic aspects are brought to the fore. His appearance, nevertheless, must be characterized as a prophetic activity because of some classical formulae: 'The spirit of the LORD came upon Jahaziel ...' (v. 14)⁽²⁹⁾; 'Thus says the LORD to you ...' (v. 15). One therefore should disagree with the description 'Levitical sermon' which was introduced in 1934 by Gerhard von Rad⁽³⁰⁾ and to this day is still used by many scholars. One would expect 2 Chr 20,14-17 to play an important role as a witness to such a theory on the 'Levitical sermon' as a genre on its own. For within the Book of Chronicles this passage is the only text in which a Levite is actually speaking. Curiously enough, 2 Chr 20,14-17 in von Rad's argument hardly plays a part; all in all he only devotes eleven lines to it⁽³¹⁾.

⁽²⁶⁾ Apart from Luther's Bible translation, the King James Version, and the commentaries by RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 260, and E. L. CURTIS – A. A. MADSON, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh 1910) 407, 2 Chr 20,13 is generally considered the opening of the subsequent scene, and to it is attributed the status of an introductory (or circumstantial) sentence. V. 13, however, is absolutely needed to set the preceding prayer in its proper context.

Apart from that, the rather marked syntactical structure of v. 14 makes it very plausible that from here on a new paragraph in the narrative commences. Schmitt has pointed to the fact that as a rule nominal circumstantial clauses with *waw* copulativum follow after the verbal sentence belonging to them; he enumerates nine examples. A. SCHMITT, "Das prophetische Sondergut in 2 Chr 20,14-17", *Künder des Wortes* (Fs J. Schreiner; [Hrsg. L. RUPPERT – P. WEIMAR – E. ZENGER] Würzburg 1982) 273-285 (274).

⁽²⁷⁾ R. MICHEEL, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik* (BEvT 18; Frankfurt a.M. 1983) 50-53; R. KASHER, "The Saving of Jehosaphat; extent, parallels, significance" (Hebr.), *Beth Mikra* 31 (1985) 242-251. Strübind does not analyse 2 Chr 20,14-17 as he is concerned exclusively with the Jehoshaphat-material ('das Josaphat-relevante Material'); STRÜBIND, *Tradition*, 179.

⁽²⁸⁾ See H. GESE, "Zur Geschichte der Kultsänger am zweiten Tempel", *Abraham unser Vater* (FS O. Michel; Leiden 1963) 230, n. 2.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cfr. 1 Chr 12,19; 2 Chr 15,1; 24,20.

⁽³⁰⁾ G. VON RAD, "Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik", *Festschrift Otto Procksch* (Leipzig 1934) 113-124 [Reprinted in: id., *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (ThB 8; München 1965) 248-261.

⁽³¹⁾ VON RAD, *Gesammelte Studien*, 254.

The growing tide of criticism of the Levitical sermon hypothesis⁽³²⁾ has recently culminated in an extensive monograph by Rex Mason⁽³³⁾. He claims that von Rad and others have failed to develop sufficiently objective criteria to identify in a strictly literary way the 'Levitical sermon' as a genre of its own. In the Second Temple Period undoubtedly sermons were delivered, especially in the Temple of Jerusalem itself. We have no information, however, about whether preaching was the exclusive preserve of the Levites. Neither do we know whether the sermons from that period bore resemblance to the literary form in which a great number of post-exilic speeches (from the Book of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and from prophetic books such as Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, and Malachi) have been handed down in the Old Testament. Within these addresses traditional material is not quoted literally, but it is summarized by way of more or less fixed pattern and themes⁽³⁴⁾. This noteworthy fact is an important indication to Mason that such old(er) traditions will be used in a similar way in the sermons to the Judean community from the Persian and Greek periods⁽³⁵⁾. Broadly speaking, it seems nevertheless that Mason and von Rad in fact are separated from each other only by the term 'Levitical'!

We have really lingered too long on the sermon-question; the prophetic address which awaits us is a splendid literary and theological composition. It is not only the fine structure of 2 Chr 20,14-17, however, which requires attention. In these lines, as was the case in the preceding prayer of Jehoshaphat, the question is raised again to what extent and in what way the author is using older traditions. For it makes a difference whether such traditions are just adopted, or are given new, even different, accents and meanings.

One must agree with Schmitt's conclusion that the Chronicler in 20,14-17 has imitated the general pattern of the 'Gottesbescheid', which is found in extra-biblical texts and biblical texts as well⁽³⁶⁾. The *form critical* provenance Schmitt has offered with respect to 2 Chr 20,14-17, however, should have been accompanied by a more specific 'traditionsgeschichtliche' analysis of this passage. Therefore some comments in that direction will now be made.

If we read 2 Chr 20,14-17 aloud, we will encounter two highly alliterative phrases in which — no wonder — the essence of this episode has been exactly concentrated:

lō' lākem hammilḥāmā kī lē'lōhīm (v. 15b);

lō' lākem l'hillāḥēm (v. 17a).

⁽³²⁾ See e.g. the extensive note in WILLI, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 218; and also D. MATHIAS, "'Levitisches Predigt' und Deuteronomismus", *ZAW* 96 (1984) 23-49.

⁽³³⁾ See note 7.

⁽³⁴⁾ An outline is offered by MASON, *Preaching the Tradition*, 123-144.

⁽³⁵⁾ MASON, *Preaching the Tradition*, 147-256.

⁽³⁶⁾ Letters from Mari X 7 and X 50; Judg 4,1-9; 2 Kgs 19,1-7 = Isa 37,1-7. It is interesting to see that Schmitt is rather reticent to trace back the formula *'al tīr'ū* to the priestly oracle of salvation. For this see M. WEIPPERT, "Assyrische Prophetien der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals", *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis* (ed. F. M. FALES) (Orientalis Antiqui Collectio XVII; Roma 1981) 71-115.

Each of those two utterances plays an important part within this passage. The first one (v. 15b) functions as the motivation of the prophet's summons not to be dismayed: Israel will be out of harm's way. The second one (v. 17a) not by chance is found in the heart of the lines which hold the instructions; a section which takes clear shape with the help of a striking inclusio:

'Tomorrow ... go down' (v. 16a) /
'Tomorrow ... go out' (v. 17b).

Whether the phrase *lō' lākem hammilḥāmā kī lē'lōhīm* of 2 Chr 20,15b is indeed such a plain parallel to 1 Sam 17,47 (*kī lyhwh hammilḥāmā*) as is the conviction of so many authors⁽³⁷⁾ must seriously be doubted. For the wording of 2 Chr 20,15b — just as that of v. 17a — is set in a *negative* structure which is very rare; it is found nowhere else in the entire Old Testament. Their striking alliterative form helps to accentuate the unique character of both statements. In them we come across an unexpected variant of the Chronicler on an otherwise constant theme⁽³⁸⁾.

In a very special way the notion that it is God who wages war is shown by the instructions in v. 17. With the exception of the word *imēdū* — which must surely have been added by the Chronicler in order to fill up v. 21 surprisingly with a rather massive liturgical content — the entire wording of v. 17 corresponds exactly with phrases uttered by Moses in Exod 14,13-14:

'al-tīrā'û hityaššēbû ūre'û 'et yešū'at yhwh
....
yhwh yillāḥēm lākem.

This verbal parallel, extending even to the grammatical form, is too striking to be merely a coincidence. Whereas every commentator lists this reference, the reader's attention is seldom drawn to observe that the resemblance is far beyond the quotation alone. Both 2 Chr 20 and Exod 14 display a similar narrative structure. In both texts, a situation of distress is found, caused by a hostile attack. This brings about a lament by the people, which is answered by an encouraging speech and clear instructions about how to react. From a distance, Israel is therefore a witness of the enemy's defeat at the hand of God.

From this parallel structure, one can draw no other conclusion than that the frame of 2 Chr 20 is determined to a high degree by Exod 14⁽³⁹⁾. The

⁽³⁷⁾ E.g. VON RAD, *Gesammelte Studien*, 254; WILLI, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 108 (note 129); WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 298; MICHEEL, *Seher- und Propheten-überlieferungen*, 52; PETERSEN, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 74; DE VRIES, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 325; CURTIS-MADSON, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 408. Schmitt is more careful: 'Möglicherweise liegt hier eine Anlehnung an 1 Sam 17,47b vor'; SCHMITT, "Das prophetische Sondergut", 283, n. 24.

⁽³⁸⁾ In the Old Testament *milḥāmā* is found 319 times. By far the largest number of them, viz. 64 times, is within 1-2 Chronicles; A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, "šābā' / Heer", *THAT* II, 502.

⁽³⁹⁾ It seems rather striking that Schmitt in his analysis of Jahaziel's address is actually describing the parallel to Exod 14,13-14, but in his conclusion has left aside this aspect completely; SCHMITT, "Das prophetische Sondergut", 278-279.

close textual and structural relationship between 2 Chr 20,14-17 and Exod 14,13-14 should therefore also be connected with the interpretation of the final address of the narrative.

3. Jehoshaphat's Address

Although the description 'address' seems rather exaggerated for the eleven Hebrew words of which it has been constructed, nevertheless both wording and content justify the term. There is a striking *opinio communis* that the word combination *ha'āmînû – wē'tē'āmēnû* in the first half of v. 20 is a direct allusion to Isa 7,9b, a line which — as is shown in all Bible translations — can hardly be translated adequately⁽⁴⁰⁾. The Chronicler is ascribing to King Jehoshaphat words which he, historically speaking, had not at his disposal at all. The prophet Isaiah is generally taken to have spoken this line more than a hundred years after Jehoshaphat's death, in a similar situation however of hostile armies threatening Jerusalem.

The anachronistic presentation by the Chronicler makes it very plausible that the author had interests other than pure historical facts. It is noticeable, for example, that on the one hand the Chronicler has transformed the negative form of Isa 7,9 (*'im lō' ta'āmînû kī lō' tē'āmēnû*) into a positive summons; and on the other hand that the hif'il conjugation which in the Isaian text is used in an absolute form — a cause of permanent discussion⁽⁴¹⁾ — in the context of 2 Chr 20,20 has been given an unequivocal sense: *ha'āmînû byhwh 'ēlōhēkem wē'tē'āmēnû*.

Though it is obvious that the first part of 2 Chr 20,20 can be considered a remodelling of the famous Isaian phrase, in the second half of this verse such a point of view is untenable since the phrase *ha'āmînû binbī'āw wē'hašlīhū* has no other point of reference to the Isaiah text than the opening verbal form⁽⁴²⁾. The most plausible inference therefore would be that the second half of 2 Chr 20,20 is to be considered as the *interpretation* which the Chronicler himself wants to apply to the remodelled Isaian text from the first part of his statement⁽⁴³⁾. That 2 Chr 20,20b must indeed be understood in this way is made certain by the appearance of two elements which can be said to be typically Chronicistic.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ RSV: 'If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established'; NEB: 'Have firm faith, or you will not stand firm'; REB: 'Have firm faith, or you will fail to stand firm'.

⁽⁴¹⁾ E.g. R. SMEND, "Zur Geschichte von *he'ēmîn*", *Hebräische Wortforschung* (Fs W. Baumgartner; SVT 16; Leiden 1967) 284-290; H. WILDBERGER, "Glauben", *Hebräische Wortforschung*, 372-386; A. JEPSEN, "*āman*", *TWAT* I, 313-348; H. WILDBERGER, "*mn* / fest, sicher", *THAT* I, 177-209; N.H. RIDDERBOS, "Enkele beschouwingen naar aanleiding van *ta'āmînû* in Jes. 7:9", *Schrift en Uitleg* (Fs W. H. Gispen; Kampen 1970) 167-178.

⁽⁴²⁾ Nowhere in the literature on 2 Chr 20,20 have I met a comment on the fact that the Septuagint version renders a singular: *en prophētē autou*, by which the range of this statement has explicitly been narrowed to Jahaziel alone.

⁽⁴³⁾ See M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford 1985) 386-388.

1. The statement *ha'āmînû binbî'âw* exposes and emphasizes the prominent place which in the Book of Chronicles has been allotted to the prophets⁽⁴⁴⁾. Their being linked up with and parallel to the summons *ha'āmînû byhwh* is indisputable proof of this.

2. In using the verb *šālah* hif. ('to succeed') the Chronicler brings into prominence a theme which is near to his heart. For, whereas in the hif'il conjugation the verb *šālah* is found thirty times in the Old Testament, 1 and 2 Chronicles have no less than thirteen occurrences, eleven of which occur in the so-called 'chronistisches Sondergut'⁽⁴⁵⁾. To the Chronicler, *šālah* symbolizes the outcome of 'seeking guidance from the LORD' (e.g. 2 Chr 26,5) and 'observing carefully the decrees and ordinances of the LORD' (e.g. 1 Chr 22,13).

The seven (!) words which constitute Jehoshaphat's factual address build up together the most concise summary of the Book of Chronicles' message. We would not go as far as Throntveit who considers 2 Chr 20,20 to be the exact centre of a number of concentric circles exposing a chiasmic structure relating to speeches from the period of the 'Divided Monarchy'⁽⁴⁶⁾. Nor does he, at the opposite extreme, agree with von Rad's view that 2 Chr 20,20b gives the Isaian statement 'a slap in the face'⁽⁴⁷⁾. Does he not pass over too easily the fact that precisely in the Book of Chronicles the prophets have been given a crucial role as a sign of God's manifest mercy (2 Chr 36,15-16)? And, in addition, it is our conviction that in determining the specific meaning of the famous Isaian quotation and its interpretation in 2 Chr 20,20 the synonymous parallelism of this line should have mitigated von Rad's view. For it is precisely the literary make-up of parallelism which brings us a step further.

As observed above, both the sequence and the wording of 2 Chr 20,20 have to a high degree been influenced by and modelled on Exodus 14. Precisely in the final line of that narrative we come across the phrase *wayya'āmînû byhwh ûbemošeh 'abdô* (Exod 14,31b). It is hardly possible to avoid the impression that both the structure and the content of this verse are constitutive for the insertion of the famous Isaian word within the theological concept of the Chronicler, on the one hand, and its peculiar interpretation, on the other⁽⁴⁸⁾.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ See e.g. I. L. SEELIGMANN, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in den deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung", *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977* (SVT 29; Leiden 1978) 254-284, esp. 270-279; Y. AMIT, "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Book of Chronicles" (Hebr.), *Beth Mikra* 28 (1982) 113-133; THRONTVEIT, *When Kings Speak*, 127-129; DUKE, *Persuasive Appeal*, 175-176; MASON, *Preaching the Tradition*, 123-144.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ See M. SÆBØ, "*šlh*, *gelingen*", *THAT* II, 551-556.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ THRONTVEIT, *When Kings Speak*, 115-120.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ 'Das Nebeneinander des Mahnens zum Glauben an Jahwe und an seine Propheten schlägt dem wahren Sinn des Jesajawortes ins Gesicht'; VON RAD, *Gesammelte Studien*, 254-255; cfr. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung*, 665: '... die wirklichkeitsfremde geistliche Geschichtsauffassung ist schliesslich nur eine Vergrößerung und Verwässerung der heroischen Glaubenszuversicht eines Jesaja, wie sie aus seinem an König Ahas gerichteten Wort spricht ...'.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ For this hypothesis only Kasher is on my side. He however says not a single word about a relation between 2 Chr 20,20 and Isa 7,9b!

The author of 2 Chronicles 20 has exploited the (written) traditions of Exodus 14 relating to Israel's fundamental experience at the Red Sea in order to encourage and activate the community of his own day⁽⁴⁹⁾.

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⁽⁴⁹⁾ I wish to thank the Rev. Dr. P. Staples, who was so kind as to correct my English. Of course, all errors in form and contents remain mine.

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Horst Dietrich PREUß, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*. Band 1: JHWHs erwählendes und verpflichtendes Handeln. Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1991. VIII-330 p. 23 × 15,5

In spite of doubts and questionings about the discipline of Old Testament theology, the genre has continued to flourish and to be productive. Among its recent products, Preuß's work is likely to prove one of the most solid and competent.

A full evaluation is not possible at this stage, since only the first of two volumes has been published. Fortunately, however, a clear account of the structure of the whole is provided. The first chapter, entitled *Standortsbestimmung*, furnishes a brief history of the subject and discusses the possible approaches to be taken. Searching for a 'centre' around which Old Testament theology may suitably be arranged, Preuß arrives at the rather complex formula 'JHWHs erwählendes Geschichtshandeln an Israel zur Gemeinschaft mit seiner Welt, das zugleich ein dieses Volk (und die Völker) verpflichtendes Handeln ist' (29). Following this decision, the total structure of the book will have four great sections:

I. An overview (§2) of the election passages of the OT, and following this a full discussion (§3) of the choosing of the people and the placing of them under obligation.

II. Yahweh as subject of the electing action in history. This includes (§4): the names of God, his 'working powers' (spirit, face, angel, name etc.), his revelation (clearly treated as an uncertain subject, and so marked in inverted commas: 'The OT knows no *concept* of revelation, certainly not a sole or fixed one' – p. 229), God as creator, and the question of utterances about the 'being' or 'essence' of God, including eternity, holiness, jealousy, the living God, and anthropomorphism. §5 is entitled 'God's world and the world far from God', and here we find the dwelling-places of YHWH, the ark, the tent of meeting, groups like the cherubs and seraphs, demons, Satan, and the underworld — perhaps a somewhat incongruous group.

The second volume will include:

III. The outworking of the original election and the further thinking out of it: the further objects of the electing action of YHWH in history. This will include treatment of such subjects as: the patriarchal narratives, kingdom, temple, priesthood, and prophets.

IV. Results and implications of the experienced historical election. Here we will find 'The Israelite and his relation to God' (anthropology), the life of the chosen (basic questions of ethos and ethic), the divine service of Israel (cult), the future of the people of God (future expectations, eschatology, apocalyptic) and 'the chosen people of God and the nations'.

Obviously we cannot comment on the contents of the second volume, but this mention of its outline will enable the reader to understand the design of the entire work.

In this first volume, then, the reader will find sections on such substantial themes as: Israel as people and community of faith; the Decalogue; the land of Israel; Yahweh as warrior; the names of God, his operative powers; revelation, creation; utterances about the 'being' of Yahweh. The final chapter §5, as indicated above, has a slightly odd progression. Does God's dwelling-place belong in the same section with Satan and the demons? The ark might have gone with the (earlier) section on war, the realm of the dead might have fitted with eschatology, which is to be in the next volume. Such difficulties, however, can scarcely be avoided, for they probably belong to the nature of the enterprise of Old Testament theology, or at least to this form of it.

Basically Preuß's book seems to be an affirmation and continuation of that classic line which began with Eichrodt. One hears an echo of that earlier scholar in the first paragraph, where the purpose is defined as the attempt to offer 'eine Zusammenschau der Glaubens- und Zeugnisswelt des AT'. Although difficulties in this approach have been seen — and especially by von Rad, whose arguments are carefully discussed here — all later experience suggests that the line taken by Eichrodt, and here followed by Preuß, is the most practical approach to be seen thus far. Some recent proposals looking in a more 'canonical' direction (he mentions Clements, Childs, Martens, Goldingay, Rendtorff) are discussed (19-23) but seem to be considered as being too vague so far. Less attention or none at all, on the other hand, is given to those who think that the whole project of an Old Testament theology is conceptually incoherent, is inherently anti-Jewish (Levenson), is theologically undesirable, or else is simply impossible to put into practice.

Preuß writes with great competence, with a fine attention to the literature (especially the more recent work, and including much non-German publication). He has a comprehensive exegetical and theological sense. As compared with some earlier theologies, we see the value of adjustment in view of recent research and changes in critical opinions.

The work is dense and rich in information. Though it is expressly designed as an introductory study, the student who has mastered all this material will have a good knowledge of what the Old Testament is all

about. One thing that makes it so concentrated is the author's principle that biblical passages are not to be quoted verbally but cited only by chapter and verse. To find what the passages say, the reader must look them up. The principle is understandable but, since a very large number of passages are cited, the effect is that some pages are heavily weighed down with figures: for example, p. 61, by my count, cites the numbers for over forty passages, p. 135 cites something well over sixty depending on one's mode of counting. Readers are supposed to look these all up individually, but will they do so?

Naturally, readers will differ over many details: that is only to be expected. One example: it is misleading, even on the ground of the example of Nabal, to maintain (159) that 'the name [of a person] is an expression of [his or her] essence'. And over the balance of the whole one cannot judge until the second volume has appeared. But in general this is a learned and thoughtful contribution, well written, and one that will stand in the front rank of Old Testament theologies. There are, indeed, more general questions about the whole idea of Old Testament theology, but these questions take one very far afield, and Preuß was probably right in deciding to go ahead with his own plan and the result is a substantial justification of his decision.

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Bernard RENAUD, *La Théophanie du Sinai. Ex 19–24. Exégèse et Théologie* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 30). Paris, Gabalda, 1991. 219 p. 16 × 24. FF 384

Renaud notes at the outset of his work pentateuchal studies are presently in a period of cautious, but constructive, reformulation in moving away from the Documentary Hypothesis as the overarching model for interpreting the development of the literature. His work makes a contribution to these larger trends by offering a more redaction-critical reading of the formation of Exodus 19–24. Part one of the book traces the growth of the literature through three distinct traditions, an early elohistic tradition, a two-part deuteronomistic redaction, and finally a priestly redaction. Part two of the book is an exploration of the theological significance of the distinct traditions.

Chapters 3–4 outline the literary character of the oldest tradition and its theological significance. This tradition consists of Exod 19,2b. 3a.10–11a.13b.14–17.19; 20,18b.20, as well as 24,4–8 and 24,9–11. This tradition may or may not have included a shortened form of the Decalogue, according to Renaud, but, in either case, his interpretation of the material does not explore what this tradition might mean with some form of the Decalogue being present. Renaud identifies this tradition as being elohistic, perhaps formulated during the eighth century BCE, because of the use of

divine names, the unnamed mountain of God (see also Exod 3,1; 4,27; 18,5), the central role of the motif of fear, and the correspondence to northern prophetic tradition like Hosea especially with regard to the idealization of Moses. Central to the theology of this tradition is the approach of God (בּוֹא) to test Israel which will result in fear (Exod 20,18b.20). Other important motifs included: the dwelling of God on the mountain (Exod 19,2b-3a), preparation for theophany as a process of consecration and not separation (Exod 19,10-11a.13b.14-15), theophany as a traditional account of the thunderstorm (Exod 19,16-17) with an innovation that emphasizes the voice of God (Exod 19,19), the idealization of Moses more as a leader than a prophet, a blood ritual that emphasizes consecration (Exod 24,4-8), and a vision of God on the mountain (Exod 24,9-11). The contrasts in imagery between the theophany in Exodus 19-20 (Moses plays no role, auditory emphasis in theophany, God is inaccessible) and Exod 24,9-11 (Moses plays a more central role, visual emphasis, God is accessible) underscore how elohistic tradition is not a unified narrative or source.

Chapters 2 and 5 concern deuteronomistic tradition. Central to Renaud's work is that there are two deuteronomistic redactions of Exodus 19-24. The difference in redactions arises by contrasting Exodus 19,3b-8 and Exod 19,9. The first text focuses on Israel and God around the theme of covenant, while the second shifts the focus to God and Moses in order to idealize the latter as a prophet. Disruptive syntax along with the contrasting imagery provides the criteria for Renaud to conclude distinct traditions rather than simply a change of focus within a single deuteronomistic tradition. Once this is established two layers of tradition are unraveled: Dtr 1 provides the basic structure to the tradition and it consists of the introduction of covenant in Exod 19,3b-8, either the insertion or the expansion of the Decalogue from Deuteronomy 5, and Exod 24,4-8. Dtr 2 does change the structure of the tradition, according to Renaud, but instead it is a series of insertions consisting of the idealization of Moses in Exod 19,9, volcanic imagery of Yahweh's descent on Mount Sinai in 19,11b and 18; material accentuating the prophetic role of Moses in 20,1.18a.19.21, and the Book of the Covenant (Exod 21,1-23,19) with its present introduction (20,22-26) and conclusion (23,20-33). The emphasis on the Decalogue in dtr 1 provides a new basis for the fear of God that was already prominent in the elohistic tradition, while divine speech and covenant redefine the blood ritual in Exod 24,4-8 into a covenant ceremony. Dtr 2, on the other hand, accentuates the prophetic role of Moses as someone who is intimate with God (19,9), mediates between God and Israel (20,20), is the object of faith (19,9; 20,19), and promulgates law revealed to him privately (Book of the Covenant and 24,3). A relative chronology for these redactions might be: an early version of Deuteronomy 5 during the late monarchy, dtr 1 written during the late exile or early post-exilic period primarily because of the use of נָא in Exod 19,5-6 where, according to Renaud, Israel is being placed among the nations, dtr 2 would be sometime later, followed, finally, by a revision in Deuteronomy 5.

Chapters 1 and 6 trace priestly tradition. Two levels of priestly tradition are distinguished in the narrative material of Exodus 19–24, but unlike dtr, the levels of tradition consist of a source (Pg) and a redaction (Rp). Pg consists of the opening itinerary notice (19,1-2a), a description of the descent of God on Mount Sinai along with the ascent of Moses (19,20), and, finally, the account of theophany in (24,15ff) which provides a narrative context for the revelation of the tabernacle. Rp incorporates Pg into Exodus 19–24, along with a series of additions, which accentuate how holiness demands separation instead of simply consecration (19,12-13a.[20]21-25), the important role of creation in Sabbath laws (20,8-11), the role of Moses as a priestly mediator (24,2 as well as the framing of 24,3-8 with 24,1-2 and 9-11). The central theological concerns of Rp include holiness as a matter of separation requiring an Aaronic priest to approach God alone, instead of the consecration of all the people for the purpose of meeting God at the mountain in elohistic tradition. Hence, the insertions of Rp (especially 19,12-13a and 20-25) are meant to create boundaries between God and the people by emphasizing divine transcendence through the image of descent (יִרַד) and the important role of Moses as a priestly mediator.

The work opens new ground in interpreting Exodus 19–24 without disregarding the contributions of past literature on the subject. Examples of innovation in this study include (1) that there is no yahwistic tradition, (2) that elohistic tradition is not a source, but an isolated tradition (somewhat like Rendtorff's [*Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*] notion of pre-deuteronomistic "complexes" in the Pentateuch); and (3) that the formation of the tradition is a process of reinterpretation through redaction-critical techniques.

The thoroughness and creativity of the work raises many interesting questions for discussion and further study. The following response will be limited to one central question, namely the character of deuteronomistic tradition in the Pentateuch outside of the Book of Deuteronomy. Renaud has followed the lead of a number of scholars like Zenger (*Die Sinaitheophanie: Untersuchung zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk*) in tracing two distinct and rather expansive deuteronomistic redactions in the formation of Exodus 19–24. Such a hypothesis holds promise, especially when one sees such a process at work in the formation of the Book of Deuteronomy, where any number of scholars have traced two (or more) levels of deuteronomistic redaction. One need only compare Deuteronomy 4 and 5 to see an illustration of the process. The question remains, however, whether such a process is also apparent in Exodus 19–24. Three problems will be noted with regard to this hypothesis.

The first concerns structure. Renaud suggests that dtr 1 is innovative in providing the structure to Exodus 19–24, which is not altered in any significant way by dtr 2. One might wonder whether the addition of a second law-code (the Book of the Covenant in dtr 2), which is privately revealed to Moses, is not in fact a significant change in structure from the singular focus on the public revelation of the Decalogue in dtr 1. This

question could be accounted for within the present argument of the book by simply attributing a more prominent role to dtr 2 with regard to the structure of Exodus 19–24. But such a solution raises a more serious problem, since the sequence of a public revelation of the Decalogue (some form of Deuteronomy 5) to the private revelation of law to Moses (some form of Deuteronomy 12–26) is already a central component to the structure of dtr 1 in the Book of Deuteronomy. Given this fact the question arises as to why dtr 1 wouldn't replicate this structure immediately in Exodus 19–24, and thus be the source both for the insertion of the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant.

The second problem concerns the nuanced criteria employed to maintain a distinction between dtr 1 and dtr 2. For example, is the difference between Exod 19,3b-8 and 9 so great that they must be attributed to distinct traditions? There certainly is a shift in focus from Israel to Moses along with a transition in theme from covenant to theophany, but similar vocabulary is used throughout (בוא to describe the movement of Moses and God and an emphasis on the divine words [דברים]), and it continues in 20,20 where Moses would appear to be referring back to 19,9 with regard to the divine approach (בוא). Renaud attributes 20,20 to E, 19,3b-8 to dtr 1 and 19,9 to dtr 2. Then, too, other problems surface, such as the nuanced idealization of Moses from someone who is speaking with God in E as a leader (19,19) to his intermediate portrayal in dtr 1 as a speaker but not yet a prophetic ideal (24,4-8) to the full-blown prophetic ideal in dtr 2 (19,9).

The third problem concerns the mixing of language between deuteronomistic and priestly tradition. Some examples include: the attribution of Exod 19,5b-6a, where Israel is described as a holy nation (קדש), to dtr 1 does not easily fit into the larger *Tendenz* of this tradition. The blood ritual in Exod 24,6.8 finds its closest parallel in priestly tradition rather than in a pre-deuteronomistic elohist tradition. The imagery of divine descent (ירד) on Mount Sinai in Exod 19,11b and 18 parallels the imagery of priestly tradition in Exod 19,20-25 rather than a distinct dtr 2 tradition. A more narrow scope in tracing deuteronomistic tradition in Exodus 19–24 would provide more flexibility to expand the role of priestly tradition in the formation of the tradition, which in the present form of the argument is frequently forced to give way to dtr 1 or 2.

In summary, Renaud has certainly fulfilled his goals stated in the introduction to his work. He has sifted the secondary literature, critically evaluating past assumptions concerning the Documentary Hypothesis, and cautiously offered a constructive reformation of the tradition-historical development of Exodus 19–24. This work is thorough and well researched, and it will be central to any further interpretations of the Sinai/Horeb tradition in the Pentateuch.

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Yuichi OSUMI, *Die Kompositionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches Exodus 20,22b–23,33* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 105). Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag – Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. 273 p. 15,8 × 23,5. SFr 75,—

Bei der Arbeit handelt es sich um die überarbeitete Fassung einer bei F. Crüsemann angefertigten, im SS 1989 von der Kirchlichen Hochschule Bethel angenommenen Dissertation.

Y. Osumi (O.) geht in Übereinstimmung mit der großen Mehrheit der Forscher davon aus, „daß in Ex 20,22b–23,33 ein unabhängig vom erzählerischen Kontext entstandenes Rechtsbuch überliefert worden ist“ (15) und unterscheidet in Orientierung an der jeweils vorherrschenden Satzform einen überwiegend kasuistische Rechtssätze enthaltenden „Mischpatimteil“ (Ex 21,2–22,19) von einem vor allem Ver- und Gebote enthaltenden „Weisungsteil“ (Ex 20,22b–26; 22,20–23,33) (24). O. untersucht Aufbau, Entstehungsgeschichte und institutionellen Ort beider Teile (Kap. II und III) und fragt, auf welcher Ebene der Kompositionsgeschichte und in welcher Intention beide Teile zusammengestellt (Kap. IV) und gemeinsam überarbeitet (Kap. V) worden sind. Eine Übersetzung, ein Literaturverzeichnis und ein ausführliches Stellenregister schließen die Arbeit ab.

Im Weisungsteil (Ex 20,22b–26; 22,20–23,33) stellen die Sätze in 2.Ps.Pl. — in Ex 23,20–23 auch einige Sätze in 2.Ps.Sg. — (Ex 22,20b.21.23.24b.30; 23,9b.13a.b* (nur: **לֹא תוֹכִירוּ**).21ba.23b.25–31.33aba) nach O. eine Erweiterung dar. Die Grundschrift des Weisungsteils (Ex 20,24–26; 22,20a.22.24a.25f.27–29; 23,1–8.9a.10–12.13b* (ohne: **לֹא תוֹכִירוּ**).14–17.18f.20–21a.21bβ.22–23a.24.32.33bβ) „hat als Vorlage das kultische Rechtsbuch Ex 34,11–26... umstrukturiert und um die sozialen Bestimmungen erweitert“ (85). Dadurch wurden „aus rein kultischen Bestimmungen soziale Rechtssätze“ (78). O. vermutet „als Hintergrund der Fassung von Ex 22,20–23,33* eine solche soziale Situation, in der der Verfasser gezwungen war zu sagen, daß ohne Schutz der Schwachen, ohne soziale Gerechtigkeit die Identität Israels als des Volkes JHWHs verloren geht“ (79).

Innerhalb des Mischpatimteils (Ex 21,1–22,19) sind nach O. lediglich Ex 21,13.14.24–27 als sekundäre Erweiterungen anzusehen. Die Grundschrift Ex 21,1.12.15–17.18–23.28–36; 21,37–22,16,17f.[19 oder 19a] gliedert sich in vier Themenbereiche. (1) Sklavenrecht (Ex 21,2–11), (2) Bestimmungen über die Tötung (Ex 21,12–36*), (3) Bestimmungen über Eigentumsdelikte (Ex 21,37–22,16) und (4) religiöse Bestimmungen (Ex 22,17–19) (133). Bezüglich des institutionellen Ortes und der Funktion dieses Rechtsbuches greift O. eine These F. Crüsemanns auf, derzufolge die Mischpatim dem nach 2 Chr 19,8ff. von König Joschafat (868–851 v.Chr) in Jerusalem eingerichteten Obergericht als Entscheidungsgrundlage für Tötungs- oder Kapitaldelikte und Fälle von Normenkollision dienten (140–143). O. modifiziert die These allerdings dahingehend, daß das Jerusalemer Gericht kein Obergericht gewesen sein muß, da es gegenüber den Gerichten der Festungsstädte keine höhere Instanz darstelle (142). Aufgrund der Funktion als „grundsätzliche[s] Gesetzbuch“ des Jerusale-

mer Gerichtes erklärt sich auch der selektive Charakter des Mischpatimteils. Er enthält nur solche Bestimmungen, für die das Jerusalemer Gericht zuständig war (143f., 149).

Die Verbindung von Weisungsteil und Mischpatimteil geht nach O. vom Weisungsteil aus. Die von O. herausgearbeitete Grundschrift des Weisungsteils war von Anfang an mit dem Mischpatimteil verbunden (153). Ihre Komposition vollzog sich als Verknüpfung der beiden Rechtskorpora Ex 34,11-26 und Ex 21,1.12-22,18*.(19), wobei Ex 34,11-26 völlig umformuliert, das Mischpatim-Gesetzbuch allerdings beibehalten (152, Anm. 20) und "das Sklavenrecht (Ex 21,2-11) und die sozialen Bestimmungen über den Schutz der Schwachen (Ex 22,20-26*; 23,9a) und die Gerechtigkeit im Gericht (Ex 23,1-8)" eingefügt wurden (152). "Das Sklavenrecht wurde in der kasuistischen Form wie die überlieferten משפטים formuliert und an die Spitze der משפטים gestellt, so daß die Freilassung der Sklaven die wichtigste Sache der משפטים darstellt" (152). Von derselben Hand wurden auch Ex 21,24-27 eingefügt (154 — ein Widerspruch zur Aussage, daß das ursprüngliche Gesetzbuch beibehalten wurde?, vgl. S. 152, Anm. 20). Die Komposition vollzog sich sehr wahrscheinlich unter dem Einfluß der Verkündigung des Amos (176f., 182) und ist aufgrund der besonderen Betonung des Schutzes des גר (Ex 22,20; 23,9) zeitlich nach dem Untergang Samarias (722 v.Chr.), als zahlreiche Flüchtlinge nach Juda/Jerusalem kamen (165f., 177), aber noch vor der Zeit des Deuteronomiums (182) anzusetzen.

Die so entstandene Komposition aus Mischpatim- und Weisungsteil wurde durch eine "2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht" (Ex 20,22b.23; 22,20b.21.23.24b.30; 23,9b.13a.ba(nur: לא זוכירו).21ba.25aa.31ba) überarbeitet und "in einen Rahmen des Gottesdienstes gestellt" (209). Als traditionsgeschichtlicher Hintergrund dieser vordeuteronomischen Bearbeitung kommt sehr wahrscheinlich die Jerusalemer Heiligtumstradition in Frage (210f.). Auch auf der Ebene dieser (End-)Redaktion existierte das Bundesbuch unabhängig von der Sinaiperikope (211). "Es wurde wahrscheinlich erst nach der Vollendung seiner Komposition in die Sinaiperikope eingefügt" (220).

Gegenüber einer privilegierten Interpretation des Bundesbuches, wie sie zuletzt vor allem von J. Halbe vertreten wurde, stellt die Arbeit von O. insofern einen Fortschritt dar, als sie die ursprüngliche Selbständigkeit und den systematischen Aufbau des Mischpatimteils (Ex 21,1-22,19) aufzeigt, seinen institutionellen Ort und seine Funktion von der Gerichtsbarkeit her bestimmt und eine vom Mischpatimteil unabhängige, ursprünglich selbständige Existenz des Weisungsteils für ausgeschlossen hält (151). Insgesamt ist die von O. entwickelte Kompositionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches plausibel. O. hat gezeigt, daß der Numeruswechsel im Weisungsteil literarkritisch auszuwerten ist (30-44), daß die "2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht" auf eine redaktionelle Hand zurückzuführen ist (52) und gegenüber der "2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht" eine sekundäre Erweiterung darstellt. Aus der Perspektive des Mischpatimteils betrachtet, stellt die Komposition des Weisungsteils (= 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht), die niemals ohne den Mischpatimteil bestand, eine Erweiterung dar. Der Vergleich dieser Zusammenstellung von Mischpatim- und Weisungsteil mit der Verkündigung des Amos und die historische und tradi-

tionsgeschichtliche Verortung dieser Komposition in die unmittelbare Wirkungsgeschichte der Verkündigung des Amos (167-182) gehören zu den interessantesten und die Forschung zum Bundesbuch weiterführenden Passagen der Arbeit. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt O. zu Recht die häufig behauptete Opposition von sogenanntem apodiktischem und kasuistischem Recht und die angebliche Kritik des Amos am kasuistischen Recht in Frage (168).

O. hat in kritischer Auseinandersetzung mit einer in der Tradition von A. Alt stehenden, primär formgeschichtlich orientierten Exegese alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze (1-6) unter einer streng kompositionskritischen Fragestellung plausibel gemacht, daß unterschiedliche Rechtssatzformen durchaus ursprünglicher Bestandteil eines Rechtsbuches sein können (90, 115). Er nennt eine Reihe von Gründen, die dafür sprechen, daß — entgegen der *opinio communis* — der Mischpatimteil mit den partizipialen Rechtssätzen Ex 21,12-15-17 eröffnet wurde (110f.). Eine verfeinerte literarkritische Analyse könnte vor allem unter stärkerer Berücksichtigung der von O. selbst herausgestellten Beziehung zwischen Ex 21,12 und 21,18f. ("Fall – Gegenfall": 112) darüber hinaus möglicherweise sogar zu dem Ergebnis kommen, daß die ursprüngliche Eröffnung des Mischpatimteils lediglich aus Ex 21,12-19f. bestand.

Auf die Entstehungsgeschichte des Mischpatimteils *vor* seiner Verbindung mit dem Weisungsteil geht O. nicht ein. Offenbar rechnet er hier mit einer in *einem* Zuge entstandenen kohärenten Größe (vgl. 140), die keine Spuren rechtsgeschichtlicher Entwicklung aufweist. Eine Ausnahme stellen Ex 21,13f. dar, die O. als eine Erweiterung des Mischpatimteils ansieht, die *vor* der Verbindung mit dem Weisungsteil am Jerusalemer Gericht entstanden ist (145). Hier zeigt sich aber letztlich doch eine latent privilegrechtliche Perspektive, wenn O. die Redaktionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches von Ex 34,11-26 her aufrollt. Dabei hätte gerade Ex 21,13f. die Möglichkeit geboten, *innerhalb* des Mischpatimteils eine 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht zu eruieren, die aufgrund formaler (Sprecher: Gott; Adressat: 2.Ps.Sg.), lexematischer (מִשְׁפָּט, מִשְׁפָּט) und inhaltlicher (fehlende Kultzentralisation) Momente einen Bezug zum Altargesetz (Ex 20,24-26) und damit zu der Mischpatim- und Weisungsteil verbindenden Komposition aufweist. Mit dem Altargesetz (20,24-26: זִכָּה; Kultort) korrespondiert strukturell der Festkalender (23,14-19: זִכָּה; Kultzeit). O. nimmt dagegen 23,14-19 und 23,20-33 als "Schlußteil" zusammen und stellt ihn dem Einführungsteil 20,23b-26 gegenüber (20). Damit aber wird der Einschnitt zwischen 23,19 und 23,20 unterschlagen und 23,13 einseitig als Schlußsatz interpretiert (49f.) und in seiner Überleitungsfunktion (2.Ps.Pl. 2.Ps.Sg.) verkannt (vgl. L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch* [Berlin – New York 1990] 394-400). Aufgrund der Stichwortverbindung (זִכָּה) zu 20,24 und 23,18 scheint auch das sich in kultischer Terminologie artikulierende Verbot der Fremdgötterverehrung Ex 22,19 derselben Komposition zuzugehören und nicht — wie O. annimmt (133), aber letztlich doch nicht mit hinreichender Sicherheit für entscheidbar hält (144) — zur ursprünglichen Rahmung des Mischpatimteils zu gehören. In Ex 22,17 liegt ein Prohibitiv in 2.Ps.Sg. und somit eine Verbindung zu 22,20, in 22,18 ein lexematischer Bezug zu

22,15 (שכב) vor. Thematisch zeigt die Reihe 22,17-19 starke Differenzen zu den in Ex 21,1-22,16 behandelten Fällen, so daß man die ganze Reihe kompositionskritisch als eine gezielte Verknüpfung von Mischpatim- und Weisungsteil ansehen und damit der 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht zuweisen und nicht — wie O. — zum Grundbestand des Mischpatimteils rechnen sollte.

Die These, daß das Sklavengesetz Ex 21,2-11 nicht zum Grundbestand des Mischpatimteils gehört, sondern als ein mit Ex 23,10-12 (Siebter Tag / Brachjahr) korrelierendes Rahmenelement (151f.) von der 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht hinzugefügt (150) und die Anrede der 2.Ps.Sg. in 21,2 in diesem Sinne ursprünglich ist (152), ist überzeugend und ebenso die Zuweisung von 21,24-27 zu derselben Schicht (154). Fragwürdig aber ist die Zuweisung von 21,20-21 zur Grundschrift des Mischpatimteils. In Ex 21,20f. und 21,26f. zeigt sich keine rechtlich unterschiedliche Behandlung des Sklaven, wie O. mit fast allen Auslegern annimmt (153). Ex 21,26f. wendet — wie O. zu recht betont (118f.) — die Talionsformel auf Sklave und Sklavin an und stellt sie somit der freien Person gleich. Die gleiche Tendenz liegt in Ex 21,20 im Hinblick auf Ex 21,12 vor. Ex 21,21 nimmt davon nichts zurück, sondern schützt den Herrn des Sklaven/der Sklavin vor der ungerechtfertigten Anklage von seiten der Angehörigen des Sklaven/der Sklavin, den natürlichen Tod des Sklaven/der Sklavin durch Schläge im Rahmen einer (legitimen) Züchtigung verursacht zu haben (vgl. CH §§ 115; 116; Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Bundesbuch*, 63-79). So bilden Ex 21,20f. und Ex 21,26f. einen Rahmen um die Talionsformel Ex 21,24-25 und sollten diachron nicht voneinander getrennt, sondern mit Ex 21,2-11 *einer*, und zwar der 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht, zugewiesen werden. Eine hiervon abweichende rechtliche Stellung des Sklaven zeigt sich nur in der Bestimmung von Ex 21,32, die zum Grundbestand des Mischpatimteils zu rechnen ist.

Die Verbindung des Mischpatimteils mit dem Jerusalemer Gericht ist insofern denkbar, als sie die Rechtssammlung Ex 21,1-22,19* in der konkreten Rechtspraxis verankert. Sie ist aber insofern problematisch, als sie sich — gestützt auf die im Hinblick auf die Historizität nach wie vor sehr umstrittene Nachricht 2Chr 19,8-11 — in einer Weise auf einen institutionellen Ort einschränkt, die vom Textbefund her nicht gedeckt ist. Der Grundbestand des Mischpatimteils behandelt nicht nur Kapitaldelikte und Normenkollisionsfälle, die — in paradigmatischer Auswahl — den gesamten Bereich intergeneraler Konflikte einer kleinbäuerlichen Gesellschaft Palästinas vom 11. Jh. bis weit in die Königszeit hinein betreffen und von der lokalen Rechtsgemeinde im Tor gelöst werden konnten. Dazu gehören u.a. die fahrlässige Schädigung fremden Viehbestandes (Ex 21,33f.35), die Schädigung des Feldes und der Ernte eines anderen (Ex 22,4f.) und der gesamte Bereich des Depositenrechts (Ex 22,6-14). Ferner machen — entgegen der Aussage O.s (136; 138) — einige Rechtsfolgebestimmungen des Mischpatimteils durchaus klare Angaben über die Höhe der Strafe bzw. Ersatzleistungspflicht (z.B. Ex 21,32; 21,35f.; 21,37; 22,3; 22,6,8; 22,15f.) — eine Angabe, die, nach O. (143), nicht mehr zur Aufgabe des Jerusalemer Gerichtes gehört. Aber auch bei Kapitaldelikten werden nach Dtn 21,1-9; 21,18-21; 22,13-21 die Ältesten aktiv, während von einem Jerusalemer Gericht nicht die Rede ist, und der "Fall Nabet" hätte nach dieser These vor dem Jeru-

salemer Gericht verhandelt werden müssen. Davon aber ist in 1 Kön 21,8-16 nicht die Rede. Von daher läuft die Aussage "Das משפטים-Gesetzbuch ist frühestens in die Zeit nach der Errichtung des Jerusalemer Gerichts (nach 2 Chr 19,4-11 in der Zeit Josaphats, Mitte des 9. Jhs) zu datieren" auf eine *petitio principii* hinaus. In Ex 21,23b ist nach O. der "Richter dieses Gerichtes" (144) angesprochen. Schwer verständlich ist aber dann die Bedeutung von *ntn*. Inwiefern soll der *Richter* im Fall von Ex 21,23a "Leben für Leben geben"?

Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Qualifikation der 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht als vordeuteronomisch ist überzeugend (167). Die 2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht, welche die Endredaktion des Bundesbuches darstellt, kennzeichnet O. ebenfalls als vordeuteronomisch (211). Damit kann O. allerdings nicht erklären, von wem, wann und in welcher Absicht das Bundesbuch in die Sinaiperikope eingefügt worden ist. Ex 20,22b wird von O. nicht als literarischer Rückverweis auf die Sinaitheophanie verstanden, sondern als Hinweis auf die Jerusalemer Tempeltheologie als ursprünglichem Sitz im Leben des durch die 2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht erweiterten Bundesbuches. Damit aber steht O. vor der Schwierigkeit, die Einfügung des Bundesbuches in die Sinaiperikope zu erklären: "Der gottesdienstliche Rahmen des Bundesbuches durch die 2.P.Pl. Sätze muß allerdings eine geschickte Einfügung des Rechtsbuches in die Theophanieerzählung ermöglicht haben" (211). Nach dieser Aussage wäre das Bundesbuch im Kontext der Sinaiperikope — um einen Vergleich aus der Zahnheilkunde zu wählen — ein Inlay, das paßt, ohne angepaßt worden zu sein. Es ist zu fragen, wo sich denn das "Geschick" dessen zeigt, der es in die Sinaiperikope eingefügt hat. Demgegenüber ist es grundsätzlich plausibler, mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, daß die Einfügung des Bundesbuches in die Sinaiperikope — zumindest an den Rändern — Spuren hinterlassen hat. Eine solche Spur wäre Ex 20,22b (2.Ps.Pl.), ebenso Ex 21,1. So wäre zu prüfen, ob nicht doch der Endredaktor, der — und darin stimme ich O. zu — das Bundesbuch in Form einer 2.Ps.Pl. überarbeitet hat, das ganze Gesetzeswerk in die Sinaiperikope eingefügt hat. Dadurch könnten weitere literarkritische Probleme gelöst werden, z.B. die Funktion des zweiten Prohibitivs in Ex 22,20a (לא תלחצנו) wäre im Zusammenhang mit Ex 22,20b (2.Ps.Pl.) u.a. als Rückbezug auf Ex 3,9b (לחץ) und damit gegen O. (50) als literarische Erweiterung, ferner את עלתך ואת שלמך in Ex 20,24a — die singuläre Formulierung kann O. nicht erklären (81) — als Hinzufügung eines Redaktors zu verstehen, der damit auf Ex 24,4f. anspielt und das Altargesetz von dorthier (als einmalige Anweisung an Mose) interpretiert. Von daher müßte die These O.s, die 2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht sei vordeuteronomisch, überprüft werden. Die Abgrenzung des Altargesetzes vom Mischpatimteil durch die Überschrift 21,1, ferner das Verhältnis von Ex 22,24b zu Dtn 23,20f. sind Hinweise darauf, daß der Endredaktor das Bundesbuch entsprechenden Bestimmungen des Deuteronomiums angeglichen hat und in diesem Sinne nachdeuteronomisch ist.

Die Arbeit stellt einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Erforschung der Kompositionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches dar. Die dabei erstellte relative Chronologie und die Qualifikation der 2.Ps.Sg.-Schicht als vordeuteronomisch und in der Tradition von Amos stehend sind überzeugend. Die Verbindung des

Mischpatimteils mit dem angeblich von Joschafat errichteten Jerusalemer Gericht halte ich für eine vom Textbestand her nicht abgesicherte These. Hier macht sich die fehlende semantische und rechtsgeschichtliche Analyse des Mischpatimteils bemerkbar. Die Qualifikation der 2.Ps.Pl.-Schicht als vordeuteronomisch und die damit zusammenhängende Frage der Integration des Bundesbuches in die Sinaiperikope bedürfen einer erneuten Überprüfung.

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Jacob MILGROM, *Leviticus 1–16. A New Translation with Commentary* (The Anchor Bible 3). New York, Doubleday, 1991.
XVIII- 1163 p. 16 × 24. \$42.00

Having produced his extensive commentary on Numbers as part of the JPS Torah Commentary (1990), Jacob Milgrom is now on the way to completing his interpretation of a second Torah book. The present installment, which covers sixteen of the twenty-seven chapters of Leviticus, is a veritable *tour de force*, the result of a lifelong quest for the meaning and message of the priestly tradition in biblical literature.

The volume opens with an introduction, and provides an extensive bibliography and various indices, including an index of technical terms in Hebrew and the ancient Near Eastern languages. Milgrom's presentation is lengthy and expansive; he expositis his argumentation fully and adopts positions on a vast array of exegetical issues. Interpretation is presented in a two-tiered format, treating the verses and chapters of the book sequentially in the Notes, reserving larger themes for the Comments. The layout of the commentary is considerably fragmented, so that locating specific materials may be difficult at times. A reader prepared to expend the effort will, however, find a wealth of knowledge in Milgrom's encyclopaedic interpretation of the biblical text.

Milgrom's method is philological, in the first instance. He defines technical terms and formulas, and this process leads him to larger considerations, such as analysis of the coherent rites which Leviticus describes. Ultimately, he is led to the question of what an entire book of the Torah means, and beyond that, to the interpretation of priestly writings as a whole.

Structure engages Milgrom in two dimensions: there is, first of all, the structure of the text itself, its formulation and composition, and then there is the structure of the rites described in the text. A commentator should be able to choreograph what the text records. A valuable aspect of Milgrom's contribution is his sensitivity to the inner logic of ritual prescriptions.

There is structure but there is also meaning, the phenomenology of religious rites. Milgrom reveals his intense interest in fathoming the significance of every prescribed act. Nothing is attributed to chance, and

every change in practice elicits comment. Milgrom is also committed to the comparative method, and this commitment expresses itself both philologically and culturally. His approach to the biblical cult is realistic; it reflects the assumption that what is written was actually performed not merely programmed, so that we can learn about the practice of religion in biblical Israel from contemporary as well as from prior and subsequent extra-biblical sources. In diachronic perspective, the post-biblical Jewish tradition is a primary informant of Milgrom's interpretations.

The dating of the priestly source of the Pentateuch receives extensive discussion in the Introduction (3-35), as well as at many appropriate points throughout the commentary. The issue under discussion is the antiquity of Leviticus versus its relative lateness. Milgrom argues for its pre-exilic date, engaging the role of language as well as literary-historical considerations in the process.

As regards language, the first principle is that early locutions often survive for centuries, so that their occurrence in a given text does not establish its earliness. In contrast, late locutions are a more suggestive criterion for dating, because information as to when certain usages first entered a written language allows us to postulate that the text in which they occur would not have been written in its received form prior to that time. Methodologically, Milgrom may not have attributed sufficient weight to this principle.

Thus, the term *'issār* (*'ēsār*) "binding obligation", occurring repeatedly in Numbers 30, is an Aramaism, attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in the Aramaic of Daniel (*passim* in Daniel, chapter 6). The Aramaic papyri from Wadi ed-Daliyeh, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, routinely employ this term for binding obligations (see F. M. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus I: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 B.C.E. found in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh", *Eretz-Israel* 18 [Avigad Volume] [1985] 7-17). This is not to say that the notion of "binding" is late, or that verbal forms of the root *'sr* are uniformly late, but rather usage of this precise, legal term in a biblical, Hebrew text draws our attention to a later period. Both in terms of its provenance within Aramaic epigraphy, and in comparison with other Aramaisms found in Hebrew, *'issār* (*'ēsār*) of Numbers 30 is not a term likely to have been used by a pre-exilic, biblical author.

The dating of the priestly source of the Pentateuch, with its internal stratification, is an important consideration, not the subject of a pedantic argument. Did priestly legislation cease with the exile, or did it flourish during the period of Return and thereafter? And if it continued, is such later legislation represented in the Torah? Does this source reflect in its legislation clear responses to the Deuteronomic changes in the scheduling and celebration of the annual festivals, as H. L. Ginsberg has recently argued (see H. L. Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* [New York 1982] 55-61, 67-83)? How does ritual relate to narrative in the ongoing literary history of the priestly source?

It must be admitted, of course, that those of us who find in the priestly source of the Torah what we consider to be of post-exilic creation are a

long way from proving our case. More evidence pertaining to the material culture of the Persian period, as well as evidence of a socio-political nature must be adduced in support of a late dating. It will be interesting, in this connection, to see what Milgrom will do with Leviticus 25 and 27 in the second volume of the commentary.

One searches Milgrom's commentary for a discussion of the antiquity of the Aaronide priesthood, a question surely relevant to identifying the *Sitz-im-Leben* of the priestly writers, but finds only a brief, virtual dismissal of the problem in the Introduction (34-35). Leviticus assigns an early role to the Aaronide priesthood and endorses its claim of antiquity, all of which brings into focus the relationship of Torah literature to the historical books of the Bible; in the first instance, Joshua through Kings, and then Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.

The historical books, Joshua through Kings, contain fairly transparent interpolations that bring the Aaronide priesthood into play in the pre-exilic period, whereas those passages we regard as authentically pre-exilic do not speak of a sacred tribe of Levites, or of the family of Aaron in this period, at all. The Aaronide priesthood is most at home in post-exilic biblical literature, suggesting that the antiquity of the Aaronide priesthood is one of the more traditional but least realistic claims set forth in Leviticus. Tradition often begins where history ends, and this may be a case in point.

A commentary on any one of the books of the Torah holds serious implications for our understanding of the composition of the Torah as a whole. In the case of Leviticus, which is entirely of priestly authorship, this question may be narrowed down to the relationship of Leviticus to the priestly content of Genesis and Exodus, in particular. The relationship between Leviticus 8 and Exodus 29 is a case in point. Milgrom concludes that Leviticus 8 is dependent on Exodus 29 (545-549). An alternative view is that Exod 29,1-37, the consecration of the Aaronide priests, is dependent on Leviticus 8; more precisely on what may be defined as the essential document, Lev 8,6-36.

The issue here is the composition of priestly texts, the sanctions they invoke, and the question of cognizance, i.e. the question of whether one textual source indicates cognizance of another text of comparable content.

There are many aspects to the example of Leviticus 8, which turns out to be instructive methodologically. We may begin with the formula *ka'āšer šiwvâ YHWH 'et mōšeh* "as YHWH commanded Moses", which recurs in Leviticus 8 with unusual frequency. What is the primary function of this formula? Does it refer, as Milgrom maintains, to the prior ordaining, in Exodus 29, of the acts described in Leviticus 8? Or, does this formula express, in the first instance, a doctrine basic to the priestly ideology, that all of the *minutiae* of the cult were specifically and directly commanded by God to Moses? When a priestly text states, as it often does, that the Israelites did, or that Moses performed (the verb *'āšâ*), just as YHWH had commanded, it is registering the prompt compliance of the Israelites of Moses' generation to God's detailed commands.

This point may be illustrated by reference to Deut 1,3, which verse has been correctly identified as a priestly interpolation: "And it happened in

the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first of the month, that Moses spoke to the Israelites in accordance with all that YHWH had commanded him with respect to them" (*kekol 'āšer šiwwa YHWH 'ôtô 'ālêhem*).

It is highly unlikely that verse 3 was inserted for the purpose of referring the reader to any prior, textual source in which God had purportedly commanded Moses to present this lengthy, farewell oration. More likely, verse 3 was interpolated in order to make the point, hardly characteristic of the Deuteronomist, that God had, in fact, commanded Moses to make this speech; that Moses had not simply presented it on his own initiative. In the priestly view, all that Moses did or said was directly commanded by God, whether or not that command had been stated in a prior chapter, or section of the Torah.

The first five verses of Leviticus 8 serve as a prescriptive introduction, and the compliance formulas distributed throughout the rest of the chapter may, therefore, be understood as resumptive; they refer to the antecedent prescriptions stated in verses 1-5 of Leviticus 8. This is all the more evident because Lev 8,6-36 are composed in a narrative mode, with only minor internal instructions by Moses to the priests, and describe a well-structured, highly complex ritual. Note that only Aaron receives unction and that he is projected as *primus inter pares* and as the human counterpart of the altar. This status corresponds to the one assigned Aaron in the primary tradition of the Holiness Code, expressed in Lev 21,10. In contrast, the inclusion of Aaron's sons in the rite of unction, as stated in Exod 29,30, corresponds to the provisions of an *addendum* to Lev 7,7.35-38, and represents a later, priestly doctrine (See B. A. Levine, "The Descriptive Tabernacle Texts of the Pentateuch", *JAOS* 85 [1965] 307-318).

It appears basic to Milgrom's method to predicate prior, textual commandments in any number of instances, and to see in such postulated, prior statements evidence for establishing the chronological relationship of the priestly source to Deuteronomy. Milgrom is in agreement with the ancient Rabbis, who so often inquire, in rhetorical fashion, *wēkî hēkân šiwwâ?* "Where did He, in fact, ordain this?". The Rabbis customarily sought prior, textual references in a Torah which they regarded as progressively predicting itself. What we might regard as the Torah in its final, composite, form was for them an originally unified composition.

It is agreed, of course, that the reason for the ultimate introduction of Exod 29,1-37 was to lay a prior foundation for the rites of Leviticus 8 within the Tabernacle prescriptions of Exodus. This hardly compels us, however, to posit the dependency of Leviticus 8 on Exodus 29, in the first instance, and leads us rather to regard Exod 29,1-37 as a response to Leviticus 8, and Exod 29,38-46 as a probable response to Num 28,1-8 in requiring two daily *tamid* sacrifices.

One is impressed by Milgrom's effort to understand the system of expiatory sacrifices in particular, and the functioning of the Israelite cult in general. As an example, his comparative explication of the concept of *mā'al* as sacrilege is of great importance. And yet, Milgrom's treatment of the

expiatory system also raises questions about biblical notions of human inadvertence and guilt, and of divine omniscience and punishment.

A fascinating question is whether resultative *wē'āšēm* with its related forms, recurring in the transitions of Leviticus, chapters 4–5, conveys the sensation of wrongdoing and should be rendered, “and feels guilt”, or whether it registers the very fact of wrongdoing, or guilt and should be rendered, “and thereby incurs guilt”. Milgrom concludes that it connotes the feeling of guilt. It could be argued, however, that awareness is requisite to feeling, and that awareness is a function of knowledge, an experience conveyed by forms of the verb *yāda'*, “to know”, not by forms of the verb *'āšam*.

What is the difference? No one disputes the fact that awareness must occur at some point if expiatory activity is to be undertaken at all. The difference lies in our understanding of the priestly concept of guilt. To illustrate this difference, let us examine how Milgrom translates Lev 4,13-14: “If it is the whole community of Israel that has erred inadvertently and the matter escapes the notice of the congregation, so that they violate one of the Lord’s prohibitive commandments, and they feel guilt (*wē'āšēmū*) when the wrong that they committed in regard to it becomes known ...”.

In other words, the crucial juncture is the sensation of guilt, not the fact of wrongdoing, and such feeling would exist, according to Milgrom, only when the offense subsequently became known to the offender. But, in Lev 5,17 one would “feel guilt”, according to Milgrom, even when he is unaware of his offense, as we read, *wē'lō' yāda' wē'āšēm*. Is there no difference between “knowing” and “not knowing”?

If, however, guilt is a fact known to God, whereas the human awareness of it which leads to feelings of guilt is conveyed by the verb *yāda'*, it is possible that one could be guilty in God’s sight without knowing it. This is actually an acute problem in the human-divine relationship. In the human justice system ordained in the Torah, guilt is established by evidence and testimony, or by confession which usually results from accusation or suit. Of course, God knows our secret deeds, but He normally allows human justice to proceed on its own, rather than acting on His omniscience to impose His will on society. Only when there is no evidence or testimony available, or when human agencies fail to act on what they know, will God issue the decree directly, striking down the guilty party.

In the postulates of cultic law, the situation is substantially different. In the priestly view, God is thought to use His prerogatives more widely, and priestly literature reflects a greater consciousness of the effects of divine wrath. The priestly system of expiatory sacrifices and purifications was instituted largely so as to deal with God’s punitive wrath, and in order to protect individuals and the community in cases where the offense may have been inadvertent, but evocative of divine wrath nonetheless.

What we are really seeing is how the benefit of the doubt worked. When a person claimed that he had inadvertently committed a forbidden act of what we would call a religious character, or that he had inadvertently omitted to fulfill an obligation to God, the priestly system would allow him to plead in this way, and would impose on him its own cultic penalties. The

guilt of the offender was thought to have been established by God even in situations where the offender was unaware of his guilt or, more likely, was unwilling to acknowledge it out of what we now refer to as "denial". Cultic law speaks for God's omniscience, and in its own way emerges as a counterpart of prophecy, just as wisdom is a counterpart of prophecy in revealing God's will.

What prompts a person to come forth and to seek expiation? Is it repentance, or a feeling of guilt, as Milgrom suggests? If so, repentance is triggered by the verb *yāda'*, "to know", not by the verb *'āšam*; something concealed is now known and acknowledged. More often than not, it is fear and extreme need, induced by the experience of actual misfortune, that prompt persons to seek expiation. It is tempting, therefore, to translate Lev 4,3a in this vein: "If the anointed priest commits an offense *to the misfortune of the people* (*l'e'āšmat hā'ām*)".

There are many more dimensions to Jacob Milgrom's commentary on Leviticus 1-16, and his discussion is rich in its suggestiveness. Jewish scholars, both in North America and in Israel, have returned to the study of Torah literature after a long period of neglect, and Jacob Milgrom has been in the forefront of this movement. His many individual studies and his books will have a lasting impact on the whole of biblical scholarship, transcending confessional demarcations.

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Reinhold BOHLEN, *Die Ehrung der Eltern bei Ben Sira*. Studien zur Motivation und Interpretation eines familienethischen Grundwertes in frühhellenistischer Zeit (Trierer Theologische Studien 51). Trier, Paulinus Verlag, 1991. 434 p. 23,5 × 16,5. DM 96,—

Bohlen's volume originated as an *Habilitationsschrift* done under L. Ruppert at Freiburg i. Br. and approved in the Winter Semester 1990-1991. In explaining his choice of topic, B. points out that for all the discussion of and controversy about, e.g., the foundations of ben Sira's moral system or his stance towards women, scholarship has given only minimal attention to one quite prominent component of the sage's ethical teaching, i.e. that regarding the duties of (adult) children towards their (aging) parents. The publication of B.'s massive monograph focussed on precisely that theme more than fills this long-standing lacuna in Sira studies even while it leaves one wondering why earlier scholars failed to realize the theme's potential.

B. starts off with a wide-ranging *Forschungsbericht* which surveys the treatment of Sira's ethics, "familial ethics" in particular, in scholarship since the end of the 18th century. This discussion provides a context for what constitutes the heart of B.'s own work, i.e. an exhaustive examination

of the two passages where Sira speaks *e professo* of children's obligation to honor their parents, 3,1-16 and 7,27-28. In treating these passages B. begins with a consideration of their text-critical problems, structure and relation to the respective contexts. He then proceeds to examine the texts' affinities, in content, form, vocabulary, motivational arguments, and placing within the work overall, with the OT Jewish tradition (the Decalogue above all) on the one hand and with popular Hellenistic philosophic currents on the other. In thus attempting to trace the twofold influence operative on Sira's teaching regarding the "honor" owed parents by their children, B. likewise endeavors to pinpoint what elements within 3,1-16 and 7,27-28 represent Sira's *Eigenbeitrag* (one such item would be his affirmation about the atonement for sins effected by respect for a father, 3,3, etc.).

In his conclusion B. points up various implications suggested by his findings concerning the two texts previously studied. Negatively, the heavy utilization of language and motivations characteristic of Hellenistic philosophy evidenced by the texts calls into question the widely held supposition that Sira is to be viewed as a cultural/religious "conservative" *tout court*. His obvious openness to Hellenism's intellectual resources in formulating his teaching about the honoring of one's parents would mark Sira rather as a "modernist" (albeit one who takes care to integrate his pagan borrowings within his own tradition's theonomic grounding of ethical teachings). Also negatively, the placing of 3,1-16 in immediate conjunction with the call to fear the Lord in the prologue of Sira's book (1,1-2,16) is to be explained literarily, i.e. as reflecting the oft-attested direct association of injunctions to honor God and parents in Hellenistic writings of various sorts rather than — as some have suggested — as indicative of a "generation gap" or of a collapse of parental authority in the Judaism of Sira's day which he would be trying to counteract by making respect for parents the primary content of "God-fearing". On the other hand, and positively, B. does propose that Sira's stress on the son's obligation to provide for the physical needs of an aging father while also refraining from verbally abusing him in the face of his loss of mental capacity can be seen as directed against the understandable appeal to his coreligionists of the legal practice of Ptolemaic Egypt, according to which sons had no obligations towards their fathers other than those to which they bound themselves by prior contract. An elaborately sub-divided bibliography of primary and secondary sources and an index of texts cited (together they comprise about a fifth of the volume's total pages!) complete the work.

This reviewer found much to appreciate in B.'s monograph. For one thing the large print and the use of different type faces for purposes of emphasis made reading it a pleasure. Typographical and other errors are few (although Norman G. Snaith consistently receives the first name of "John"). B. takes pains to assist the reader with frequent sectional summaries. He displays a comprehensive familiarity with two centuries of Sira studies in a variety of languages. Beyond that, he has ranged far beyond the limits of the Bible itself and of the scholarship upon it to appropriate a vast body of extra-biblical Greek and demotic material (as well as the literature concerning this) that is but vaguely known to the

average biblicist. Most of all, B. has identified a neglected topic and then given it the kind of in-depth treatment which ensures that his work will be looked to as *the* authority on the topic for a long time to come. His findings should promote a more nuanced appreciation of Sira's teaching overall (especially, e.g., of its complex relationship to "Hellenism"). It invites similar, detailed studies of other specific areas of the sage's ethics.

Having said all of the above, I continue to wonder if B.'s monograph might not have been considerably shorter than it is. One notes, for one thing, a large element of repetition in which, e.g., formulations used in a given section recur in very similar language — often only a page or two later — in the summary of that section. I question too whether it was necessary for B. to go into so much detail concerning the individual Hellenistic writings which he adduces in connection with particular features of his Sira texts — especially when one considers that Sira would not have known (most, at any rate, of) those writings first-hand. My question in this regard is linked to a disappointment I experienced in concluding my reading of B.'s work. The disappointment has to do with his failure to offer anything in the way of hermeneutical reflections about how Sira's teaching on honoring of parents might be brought to bear on the perplexities of so many adult children faced with difficult and painful choices regarding the welfare of their aged parents. B.'s total "bracketing" of this problematic while expatiating at such length on one or other piece of ancient comparative material struck me as unbalanced — not to say irresponsible. One can, however, hope that B. will address the former topic in subsequent publications; I am confident that, like Sira in his time, he has something worth hearing about it for ours.

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Novum Testamentum

Luke Timothy JOHNSON, *The Gospel of Luke* (Sacra Pagina 3).
Collegeville, MN, Liturgical Press, 1991. XIV-466 p. 16 × 23,5.
\$29.95

The General Editor's Preface states that "the goal of *Sacra Pagina* is to provide sound critical analysis without any loss of sensitivity to religious meaning. This series is therefore catholic in two senses of the word: inclusive in its methods and perspectives, and shaped by the context of the Catholic tradition" (IX). Further, "the volumes in this series illustrate how Catholic scholars contribute to the [Second Vatican] council's call to provide access to Sacred Scripture for all the Christian faithful" (IX). *Sacra Pagina* volumes "are intended for biblical professionals, graduate students, theologians, clergy, and religious educators" (IX).

In his own preface, Professor Johnson notes that “like other commentaries in the series, this one on Luke’s Gospel provides for each section an original translation from the Greek, a set of detailed notes, an interpretation, and a short bibliography. An introduction presents the principles governing this reading of the Gospel and provides a general bibliography” (xi). Johnson’s translation “aims at clarity and readability ... I have deliberately eliminated many of Luke’s biblicisms, even some treasured ones... in the hope of providing a freshness to the language... I have also struggled to provide a translation that is gender-inclusive so far as that is possible within the limits of the Greek syntax and biblical symbolism” (xi).

Why, with some good commentaries already available, did Johnson write still another? “The main thing is that from beginning to end this is a literary analysis. I do not take up issues concerning the origin of a story in the life of Jesus, or the development of a tradition before it reaches Luke. Nor do I engage in long discussions of scholarly positions concerning those questions. My concern is only with what Luke is saying and how he goes about saying it” (ix-x).

Further, moved by the conviction that the Gospel of Luke is the “first volume of a single two-volume writing”, Johnson notes that “the present commentary intends systematically to exploit the implications of the designation ‘Luke-Acts’” (1). Still drawing the parameters of his work, Johnson says that “the present commentary will touch on historical and theological questions only as they are required for the intelligent reading of the text. The main focus of this commentary, instead, is on the literary shape of Luke’s writing” (1-2).

What kind of literature did Luke write? Though “there are good reasons for considering Luke-Acts as a form of Hellenistic history” (5) or better as “a Hellenistic biography” (7), Johnson appears most satisfied to think of Luke-Acts as “a form of history” (8) and specifically apology. This apology consists of an ‘orderly’ (Luke 1,3) review of God’s actions up to the time of Luke so that Christians would be convinced that God had remained faithful to Israel, even if a large number of Israel rejected Jesus, and so could be counted on to remain faithful to Christians. Into this overall purpose are interwoven, throughout or at various junctures of the Luke-Acts story, a variety of themes that concern Luke. Two major characteristics of Luke’s work are, first, the concern to show fulfillment of Torah prophecy, and, secondly and on a larger basis, the concern to show fulfillment of prophecies made within Luke-Acts, as well as to form linkages between various parts of Luke-Acts whether by prolepsis and repetitions or similar devices. Jerusalem plays a central role in the story’s development, integrating geography and plot.

One of the unique features of this commentary is its reading of Luke-Acts from the perspective of prophecy, and particularly where applicable, with the prophet-like-Moses in mind. Prophecy is, for Johnson, the most reasonable perspective from which to view what Luke has done, considering Luke’s massive effort to show the relationship of Jesus and his community to Torah (Johnson’s preferred term) and Luke’s presentation of Jesus first,

then his disciples, as inspired prophets. As noted, Moses, as can be shown from the Stephen speech (Acts 7,17-44), is the essential element of the prophetic definition Luke gives to his work.

Johnson, as so many others who have followed the ordinary commentary format, appreciates the weakness inherent in dealing with only one chapter or section of a chapter at a time. And indeed the reader feels this weakness, too, for it is not clear just how one is to weigh, against the prophetic figure of Jesus and others, the importance of such powerful images as Son of God, Messiah, Lord, Son of Man; particularly if one understands the first chapter or two of the Gospel to be Luke's personal preference over his source Mark as a way to introduce Jesus, one must integrate well for the reader Luke's insistence that, whatever the public figure revealed by Jesus, Jesus is "a savior born who is Christ Lord" and Son of God.

A christological case in point is the interpretation given of the words of Jesus to the paralytic, "Man, your sins are forgiven" (Luke 5,20). Johnson notes for the reader that "The Greek is literally, 'your sins are forgiven for you', with the perfect passive indicating at once an accomplished fact, and (in biblical idiom) that it was done by God" (93). These words of Jesus are called a "declaration of sins forgiven" (94, note 22). One concludes that all Jesus did was declare sins forgiven as would a prophet who knows what God has done. That bystanders call Jesus's words "blasphemy" means that they think that "the declaration of sins forgiven is read as an arrogation of authority belonging to God alone" (94); this apparently means that declaration, not to mention forgiveness, belongs to God alone, in the minds of the bystanders. If one were to object that Jesus forgave sins because later he indicates that "the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins" (Luke 5,24), Johnson explains that verse 24 is "often taken as an interjection reflecting a community apologetic" (94, note 24). Since no other remark in the notes is pertinent to the question under consideration, the reader is left at this point with the impression that to think Jesus forgave the sins of this paralytic is something not in the original text, but only later imposed on it by those who thought Jesus could and did forgive sins — but the first version of what Jesus did said only that he, like a prophet, declared sins forgiven by God.

When one moves from the notes to the Interpretation, the reader finds only the statement, "As God's spokesperson he [Jesus] has the authority to declare the 'forgiveness' of sins..." (95). And if the reader turns to the story of Luke 7,36-50, wherein again Jesus says that sins are forgiven and people wonder, "Who is this who even forgives sins?", the reader will only find himself referred back for comment to what Johnson said earlier about Luke 5,17-26.

Now, whether or not Jesus forgave sins is not the question here. Rather, the intention of Johnson's commentary is at stake. He had said earlier that "Above all, I have tried to overcome the inherent atomism of the commentary format by giving a sense of narrative development, including some grasp of how each part fits into the whole" (xii). But Johnson leaves the reader to figure out how the person who has been

described as Messiah, Son of God, Lord, Savior, is to be integrated with the Prophet figure revealed in the stories of Chapters 5 and 7.

Moreover, Johnson had as a stated goal that, while "formal acknowledgement of Luke-Acts' literary unity is today almost universally given, few commentaries (if any) have yet taken that decision seriously in their treatment of the respective volumes" (1). Yet, Luke's Chapters 5 and 7 beg for a clear integration with the numerous statements of Acts which indicate that forgiveness of sins is intimately tied to Jesus, to his name, to faith in him.

Finally, Johnson has indicated that he "does not take up issues concerning... the development of a tradition before it reaches Luke" (xi). Yet, at a crucial point of interpretation of Luke 5,24 (the Messiah's power to forgive sins on earth), Johnson has recourse to a tradition theory which even he is willing to limit as being put forward only "often" (94).

These observations have to do with Johnson's expressed goals and his achievement of them. I have presented one case in which I think he falls short of his hopes.

So, is the final judgment here to be a negative one? No indeed. Much time has been spent, but only on one example. Indeed, one might point to a better integration of themes when Johnson discusses the death of Jesus (Luke 23,32-46). While entitling this section "The Death of the Prophet" and further insisting on Jesus as prophet with the remark, "Luke's portrayal of Jesus as Prophet is enhanced because everything that has happened to him in the passion narrative is in fulfillment of his own predictions (9:22.44; 17:25; 18:31-32)" (381), Johnson does justice to Jesus as *sophos* and righteous person (376, note 34), Savior, Messiah, king, elect of God (377, note 35, and 380). Johnson closes his remarks on the death of Jesus by noting, "His death is shown to be utterly consistent with his life, his life an enactment of his teaching. He is Philosopher, Prophet, Lord of God's kingdom" (381). (One might note, however, that when Johnson comes to interpret Luke 23,46, he speaks of Jesus as showing "a quiet confidence in God" [379, note 46], without taking the opportunity to interpret Jesus's call as a call of a son to 'Father'.)

Johnson is well-read, and has consistently shown elsewhere as well as here that he is a good interpreter. Moreover, he has a lively, compact and engaging writing style. Anyone would learn from Johnson's book on Luke, whether by simple attention to what he says and to his way of looking at Luke-Acts or by dialogue with his views.

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Margaret M. MITCHELL, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (HUT 28). Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991. XIII-381 p. 24 × 16

This volume is a revised version of Mitchell's doctoral dissertation written at the University of Chicago under the supervision of Hans Dieter Betz. In ch. I, "Introduction to the Task and Methodology" (1-19), Mitchell clearly outlines her presuppositions and methodology for rhetorical criticism. The footnotes are as interesting and as informative as the text itself, offering brief snippets of important and lively debates engaging key rhetorical critics of the NT.

Mitchell's subject is the genre, function, and composition of 1 Corinthians. Her thesis is: "... 1 Corinthians is a single letter of unitary composition which contains a deliberative argument persuading the Christian community at Corinth to become reunified" (1). She identifies the thesis statement of 1 Corinthians as 1,10, Paul's exhortation to reconciliation in the face of factionalism at Corinth. This is a political problem best suited to deliberative rhetoric. She finds the arrangement of 1 Corinthians conforms to that prescribed for deliberative rhetoric, and all topics in 1 Corinthians are subsumed under the political topic of factionalism. Paul uses his own example of non-factionalism to urge reunification as the most advantageous course of action (a deliberative topic). Mitchell concludes by rightly defending the compositional unity of 1 Corinthians on the basis of the literary-rhetorical unity that emerges when the letter is understood as deliberative rhetoric.

Wisely conceding the diversity in current understanding and practice of rhetorical criticism, Mitchell places herself in the tradition of her mentor, Hans Dieter Betz. She lays out five sensible mandates for rhetorical criticism of the Pauline letters to which she adheres in her study: 1) Rhetorical criticism can be understood as a tool of the historical-critical method. When dealing with historical arguments about Paul it is better to use the Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition than modern rhetoric. 2) Rhetorical criticism needs to consult not only rhetorical handbooks, but actual speeches and letters from antiquity. Handbooks present what is prescribed and more formal than actual extant speeches, for such speeches were governed by particular rhetorical situations. This caution is especially suited to epideictic and deliberative rhetoric which were not carefully prescribed by handbooks. This is a needed corrective and supplementation to many current analyses. 3) Assigning a rhetorical genre of epideictic, deliberative, or forensic to a text cannot be begged in the analysis. The viability of the choice of genre must be demonstrated prior to detailed rhetorical analysis of the form, function, and content of the work (her chs. II-III). 4) The appropriateness of the rhetorical genre assigned to content (issues addressed, topics, and goals) must be demonstrated (ch. IV). 5) The unit examined must be a compositional unit as substantiated by rhetorical analysis (chs. IV-V).

In ch. II, “1 Corinthians as Deliberative Rhetoric” (20-64), Mitchell thoroughly defends her classification of the genre of 1 Corinthians as deliberative. She provides a detailed discussion of the genre of deliberative for comparison with 1 Corinthians. The constituent and characteristic elements of deliberative are identified from both the rhetorical handbooks and actual speeches and letters employing such rhetoric. These sources are helpfully identified in a very valuable excursus as the chapter opens.

Four characteristics of deliberative rhetoric are discussed in detail and then located in 1 Corinthians, thus justifying its classification as deliberative. First is a future time referent, for deliberation urges the audience to pursue a particular future course of action. Paul’s emphasis upon needed changes in community life makes 1 Corinthians predominantly future oriented. Second is the appeal to what is advantageous, exhorting an audience about a future course of action as expedient, just, honorable and their opposites. Paul appeals to the Corinthians for unity as an advantageous course of action. Third, proof is usually by examples, especially historical examples or the examples of people admired by the audience, which indicate advantageous courses taken or not taken and the consequences. These examples are implicitly or explicitly held up for the audience to imitate, and may even include the rhetor. Paul uses such proof in 1 Corinthians, including himself as an example of proper behavior for imitation as the main, pervasive example. Fourth, are subjects appropriate for deliberation, particularly political topics like concord and factionalism within a political body. This is true of Paul’s appeal to the political body, the churches of Corinth.

In ch. III, “Thematic and Rhetorical Unity in 1 Corinthians: The Language of Factionalism and Reconciliation” (65-183), Mitchell identifies the thesis statement of 1 Corinthians as 1,10, Paul’s appeal to the Corinthians for unity. She then examines how the political, deliberative topics of concord and factionalism and related subjects, found in ancient speeches and letters of the imperial period to urge reunification of divided groups, are used and adapted by Paul throughout 1 Corinthians as the basis of his argumentation as he appeals for unity.

This thematic and rhetorical unity is rightly used by Mitchell to demonstrate the literary unity of 1 Corinthians. Typically exegetes see only chs. 1-4 as dealing with factionalism, and chs. 5-16 with pastoral and theological issues in the church. This has led to partition theories. Also, the issues in chs. 5-15 are often unsuccessfully paired with the factions mentioned in 1,12. However, Mitchell convincingly demonstrates that the topics of concord and factionalism pervade the entire letter. She rightly points out that exegetes have missed Paul’s rhetorical strategy — not to debate each faction’s position separately, but together under the broader issue of factionalism.

Chapter IV, “Compositional Analysis: 1 Corinthians as a Unified Deliberative Letter Urging Concord” (184-304), begins with an outline of the epistolary and rhetorical structure of 1 Corinthians. In brief this can be simplified as Epistolary Prescript (1,1-3); Epistolary Thanksgiving (1,4-9); Epistolary Body (1,10-15,58) containing thesis statement (1,10), statement of facts (1,11-17), proofs (1,18-15,57), and conclusion (15,58); and

Epistolary Closing (16,1-24). Mitchell investigates Paul's use of invention and arrangement to support the thesis statement of 1,10. Not only does 1 Corinthians have thematic unity (as she proves in ch. III), but also rhetorical and compositional unity. This has at least two major implications. First, the typical approach to compositional analysis according to content and different reconstructions of the historical situation usually views the disparity between chs. 1-4 and 5-16 (or 7-16) and other sections as indicative of distinct letters to different situations. Mitchell correctly argues that such analysis is misleading because a letter can address many situations at once within a larger rhetorical unity. Second, it is often assumed that the structure of 1 Corinthians mirrors the structure of the Corinthians' letter to Paul. Mitchell correctly attributes the structure of 1 Corinthians to the creative work of Paul in addressing the topics posed by the Corinthians by placing them in broader categories of unity and concord to suit his rhetorical purpose. In other words, Paul is responsible for the invention and arrangement (*dispositio*) of the letter.

Chapter V, "Conclusion" (296-303), focuses upon the challenge this study poses for the methodological bases of partition theories for 1 Corinthians: 1) Unproven presuppositions about epistolary conventions underlie these theories, such as the assumption that a letter has only one oral or epistolary contact. 2) Mechanical applications of methodological principles are inappropriate for the flexibility of rhetorical texts created for a particular situation. Also Mitchell rightly notes the interaction of historical rhetorical analysis and sociological analysis of the NT as a fruitful avenue for future research. However, she cautions that Paul's caricature of the Corinthian parties is probably a distortion of their true character and does not lend itself to reconstruction of Corinthian parties. This caricature is due to rhetorical exaggeration and Paul's approach to dealing with the overall problem of factionalism rather than the concerns of individual factions.

The volume ends with an extensive bibliography (305-326), and Indices of Passages Cited (327-372) and Modern Authors (373-380).

This study is well-written, methodologically consistent, and insightful at every turn. Mitchell is to be commended for a very persuasive argument that 1 Corinthians is a rhetorically unified letter using deliberative rhetoric to exhort the Corinthians to turn from factionalism to unity and concord. The primary source material of deliberative speeches and letters used in the study is one of its most valuable assets. Mitchell's emphasis upon rhetorical criticism which supplements rhetorical handbooks with actual speeches and letters should be heeded, and we can thank her for providing a fine example of the fruit of this approach.

Mitchell's demonstration of the integration of topical and argumentive strategies throughout 1 Corinthians is excellent, but not always convincing. For example, designating 15,58 as the conclusion of the argumentation of the entire body of the letter (1,18-15,57) neglects this verse's topical alignment with the argumentation of ch. 15, especially regarding the topic of "vain". It seems more appropriate to designate this verse as the conclusion of ch. 15 and to look for the conclusion of the entire letter in ch. 16.

More importantly, as a student of Betz and aligned in his tradition of rhetorical criticism, Mitchell's analysis has similar biases. First, she has neglected the role of style in 1 Corinthians. Style is an intricate part of invention and the formation of proof. Understanding the intention of stylistic factors greatly enhances understanding the argument such factors are seeking to promote. This neglect may be due in part to fear of reducing rhetorical analysis to stylistic analysis as was so characteristic earlier in this century. Regardless of one's stance of rhetorical analysis, style must be considered for a holistic analysis.

The relevance of my main criticism of Mitchell's work will be determined by the reader's current siding in the vigorous debate about the extent that Greco-Roman rhetorical theory influenced the epistolary genre in antiquity and to what extent it can be used to analyze NT epistles. The debate rages because epistolary and rhetorical theory were developed separately in antiquity, but merged in varying degrees in practice. One side in the debate argues that the NT epistles are epistles, and rhetoric has only a secondary influence limited to matters of style and some invention. The other side argues that the NT epistles are speeches in epistolary form and can be analyzed using Greco-Roman rhetorical theory of invention, arrangement, and style. NT epistles are essentially speeches with epistolary openings and closings. Between these two sides are moderating positions recognizing various degrees of influence by both rhetorical and epistolary theory.

Mitchell, while carefully aware of epistolary and rhetorical features of 1 Corinthians throughout her work, will not thoroughly satisfy those who posit that there is considerable influence of invention and arrangement in the epistolary genre. Mitchell may accurately describe the flow of argumentation within each section of 1 Corinthians, but does not adequately identify the forms of Greco-Roman argument used, nor uncover the intricacies of arrangement structuring the argumentation on a secondary level. Arguments are not labeled either as *ethos*, *pathos*, or *logos* (example, *epicheireme*, or *enthymeme*). An occasional secondary *exordium*, *narratio*, or *peroratio* used to begin and end subsections of argumentation is not identified.

These points of difference aside, Mitchell's work will undoubtedly become a classic of historical rhetorical criticism in this formative period of the discipline. The reader's decision about the relationship between rhetorical and epistolary theory will determine if Mitchell has exhausted the study of rhetoric in 1 Corinthians, or opened up pathways for a more extensive and thorough analysis. Either way, readers will be satisfied with the persuasive and erudite analysis she provides.

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Michael BACHMANN, *Sünder oder Übertreter*. Studien zur Argumentation in Gal 2,15ff (WUNT 59). Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992. XI-200 p. 23 × 15,5. DM 148,—

Ga 2,15-21 es un importante pasaje dentro de la Carta a los Gálatas y en toda la literatura paulina. Contiene además dificultades que, justamente, han sido, y son, varias «cruces interpretum». Por ello es de agradecer todo nuevo intento de aportar clarificación a los problemas que plantean esos versículos. A ello se dedica este volumen, que es el «Habilitationsschrift» del autor, presentado en el semestre de invierno 1989/1990 en la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Basilea.

Dicho pasaje, como es obvio, se comprende en sus líneas generales de rechazo de las obras de la ley, de la justificación por tales obras etc. Pero subsisten muchos problemas: su conexión con el párrafo precedente sobre el incidente de Antioquía, el sentido de varias frases obscuras, por ejemplo la de Cristo servidor del pecado, la organización general del pensamiento paulino en este fragmento, su lógica interna, su entronque con el resto de la carta etc. A estas y a otras cuestiones pretende responder esta obra.

El libro está dividido en tres grandes partes. La primera más bien metodológica, la segunda sobre la estructura e intención de Ga 2,15-21 y la tercera acerca de las relaciones de este paso con el resto del escrito.

En la primera se hace un breve repaso de la problemática de la ley en Pablo, con especial atención a las recientes discusiones sobre el punto. También en ella el autor orienta el estudio del texto en cuestión primero con una cierta crítica de los intentos de colocarlo — y a la carta en general — dentro de un determinado género retórico más o menos clásico, como actualmente sucede bastante a menudo con la llamada «nueva retórica», o en un esquema teológico concreto del pensamiento paulino sobre la ley del tipo del de E. Sanders (11-23). Finalmente B. se decide por la hipótesis de que Ga 2,15-21 puede desempeñar un papel central en el pensamiento de todo el escrito. Para confirmarla hace un análisis detallado del texto en la segunda parte.

Después de una exposición de las dificultades del texto, pasa a un análisis, sobre todo formal, del texto, lo cual es acertado en un punto de tan complicado contenido. Punto central del mismo es el μή γένοιτο (v.17b) como un elemento estructurante que solucione no pocas de las dificultades. Se trata de un signo típico del estilo de Pablo emparentado con la diatriba, especialmente de Epicteto (30-31). Prescindiendo de otros detalles, vg. de la explicación sobre el cambio de personas que no resulta tan fundamental, B. obtiene como resultado que nos encontramos en el centro del texto, v.17, con algo que precisamente puede aclararlo y no de un paréntesis sin importancia. Se trata básicamente de una estructura silogística del *modus tollens*, bastante frecuente en Pablo, con la cual, al negar la segunda premisa, se niega la primera. La segunda premisa está formulada en la forma de una pregunta retórica en 17b; la primera está curiosamente más bien a continuación, en el v.18, que resulta también negada (35-54).

A continuación se expone la llamada «arquitectura» del pasaje que es la estructuración propuesta por el autor, resumida en una página que se

repite en un cartulina aparte y que resulta francamente útil para la lectura del texto. Como resultados más apreciables se podrían señalar que ἁμαρτία de v. 17b designa un pecado contra la vida cristiana y el παραβάτης de 18b, en paralelismo con el v. 21, una transgresión contra la función de Cristo, al pretender justificarse por la ley quienes ya han creído en Cristo. Hay una doble polaridad entre judíos y pecadores, por un lado y Cristo y ley por otro (55-83).

Algunas observaciones aclaratorias vg. sobre las «obras de ley», concebidas como los mismos preceptos y no su cumplimiento (94-100), así como también sobre que Pablo se dirige a cristianos judaizantes y no a judíos sin más (100-101), culminan este análisis del pasaje.

En la tercera parte se dedica B. a mostrar la importancia de Ga 2,15-21 para todo el resto de la carta. Muestra en efecto que este pasaje corresponde a la vida cristiana expuesta en 5,2-6,10 a la vuelta al pasado condenada en 4,8-5,1 y a la conversión de que se trata en 3,1-4,7.

La idea básica de Pablo, si yo comprendo bien la exposición de Bachmann, sería el rechazo global de una vuelta atrás por parte de quienes han aceptado el significado de Cristo, queriendo una justificación por medio de la ley. Evidentemente este es un pensamiento muy claro en todo el escrito. Lo típico de la aportación de este libro sería mostrar cómo se encuentra esta idea en 2,15-21 y cómo aparece, de modos diversos, en otras partes de Ga que, de algún modo, retoman el pensamiento central del texto estudiado.

Antes de pasar adelante quiero destacar que, para seguir el pensamiento del autor, bastante poco claro en muchos momentos al centrarse sobre indicios formales más que en consideraciones de contenido, resulta de enorme utilidad el índice de las pags. IX-XI, que no reproduce únicamente las divisiones del libro, sino es una especie de síntesis — a veces con fórmulas diferentes de las del texto — más clara y sintética del pensamiento.

En su conjunto el libro aporta algunas propuestas interesantes para la comprensión del texto en cuestión y de su lugar en el pensamiento de la Carta a los Gálatas. De paso se aportan también reflexiones a puntos como el del género retórico del escrito y a la comprensión paulina sobre los judíos.

Ga 2,15-21 no trata de los judíos en cuanto tales, a los cuales calificaría negativamente, sino de los cristianos, que ya han aceptado a Cristo con todo lo que ello significa, pero que pretenden caer en una situación anterior, poniendo su esperanza en las obras de la ley. Al hacer eso se constituyen así en «transgresores». Menos patente, a mi juicio, es lo que Bachmann entiende por «pecadores» y «pecado», pues parece referirse (56, 69) a un fallo en la vida cristiana, del cual, con todo, no puede hacerse responsable a Cristo como rechaza decididamente el v. 17b.

Como no podía ser de otra manera Bachmann reconoce plenamente que la salvación para el creyente viene sólo por la fe en Cristo, con independencia de las obras de la ley. Pero, parece, intenta encontrar, más o menos claramente, un sentido menos negativo para la ley en lo referente a los judíos, — evidentemente no salvífico — lo cual, a pesar de todo, parece también poco conciliable con el pensamiento paulino. Curiosamente esta ten-

dencia está presente en algunos exegetas modernos. Habría que reflexionar más sobre qué se pretende exactamente con ello.

El libro, con todo, es una obra digna de lectura y estudio — ¡no demasiado sencillo, por cierto! — entre los estudios paulinos actuales.

Se agradecería que, además de los abundantes índices que se presentan, hubiera uno de materias.

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Don B. GARLINGTON, *'The Obedience of Faith'. A Pauline Phrase in Historical Context* (WUNT 2,38). Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1991. XIV-337 p. 15,5 × 23. DM 114,—

L'Autore pubblica la sua tesi di laurea sostenuta all'Università di Durham, condotta a termine sotto la direzione del Prof. J. D. G. Dunn. Il suo intento dichiarato è di sviluppare un accenno fatto da O. Michel nel suo commento a Rom 1,5, secondo cui l'espressione paolina *eis hypakoën pisteōs* implica una componente di antitesi al giudaismo e al giudeo-cristianesimo. Contemporaneamente, vengono perseguiti due altri scopi: verificare (e confermare) la tesi di E. P. Sanders sul giudaismo come «covenantal nomism», sulla base di materiali da lui non utilizzati (eccetto Sir), e, in base ad essi, gettare nuova luce sull'atteggiamento di Paolo nei confronti della Legge.

In effetti, quasi i nove decimi del volume sono dedicati a studiare quelli che l'Autore, conformemente alla tradizione protestante, chiama «Apocrypha», e che invece la tradizione cattolica definisce «Deuterocanonici» dell'AT (nell'ordine dell'Autore: Siracide, Sapienza, 1 e 2 Macabei, Tobia, Giuditta, Susanna, Bel e il Drago, Baruc, Lettera di Geremia, aggiunte a Ester, e infine 1 Esdra LXX cioè 3 Esdra Vg). La lingua greca di questi scritti dovrebbe rendere conto al meglio dell'espressione paolina. Tuttavia, una osservazione metodologica si impone. Il Garlington fa un gran conto sul fatto che questi scritti siano stati incorporati nella raccolta dei LXX e quindi dovessero essere ben noti al tempo di S. Paolo, supponendo così che già prima dell'Apostolo esistesse un canone riconosciuto e per di più in lingua greca. In realtà, la cosa è ben lontana dall'essere dimostrata, anche se quasi tutti i testi esaminati sono stati scritti anteriormente all'era cristiana. Il criterio adottato, secondo cui questi scritti facevano parte del «main stream» della vita religiosa giudaica e non erano il prodotto di enclaves settarie, potrebbe anche applicarsi ad altre composizioni di lingua greca, come per esempio la Lettera di Aristea, per non dire di altri (cf. tutto il giudaismo ellenistico), anche se esse non furono poi tramandate come parte dei LXX!

In ogni caso, l'analisi di Garlington è sempre molto accurata e documentata. Concentrandosi ripetutamente sui temi opposti fede-obbedienza e infedeltà-disobbedienza, egli fa vedere bene che al centro della pietà e della

autocoscienza nazionale giudaica (soprattutto là dove si narrano storie di martiri o di eroi) c'è una «way of life» consistente nella più stretta adesione alla Legge dei padri. In questa prospettiva, fede e obbedienza sono una cosa sola: entrambe si definiscono in rapporto alla Torah donata da Dio, mentre il loro contrario viene qualificato di fatto come apostasia. E anche se la locuzione paolina non ricorre mai in queste fonti, essa tuttavia potrebbe adeguatamente esprimere anche la risposta propria di Israele, partner dell'alleanza, all'elezione da parte di Dio con l'osservare pienamente la Legge di Mosé (per cui, credere in Dio comporta necessariamente di obbedire alla sua Legge).

Invece, da parte sua, l'Apostolo intende la frase come un conciso manifesto, che proclama scandalosamente l'appartenenza delle «nazioni» (infatti il testo paolino continua con il complemento *en pân toîs ethnesin*) alla nuova alleanza con Dio, prescindendo del tutto dalla loro partecipazione nomistica a Israele. È qui che appaiono gli aspetti di antitesi e di polemica nei confronti del giudaismo: non nel concetto di fede in quanto tale, ma in quanto ora si tratta di fede in Cristo, il quale rappresenta la fine del nomismo e in specie del «covenantal nomism» sinaitico. In queste affermazioni, però, appare la dipendenza dell'Autore nei riguardi del suo «Doktorvater» a proposito della teologia paolina della Legge, o almeno una certa ambiguità e oscillazione. Egli infatti intende un testo come Rm 10,4 ora in rapporto alla Torah in quanto tale, ora in rapporto al suo semplice abuso (nazionalistico) senza escluderne la sopravvivenza rettamente intesa al di fuori di Israele. A me pare che la critica paolina della Legge sia molto più radicale, anche perché è ben difficile individuarvi una distinzione tra aspetti etici e aspetti rituali della Legge stessa (come si farà chiaramente da parte cristiana a partire dal II secolo).

Oltre tutto, comunque, il lavoro di Garlington (integrato da una buona bibliografia e da tre Indici: dei testi, degli Autori, e dei temi) è originale e utilissimo, soprattutto perché colloca adeguatamente, come finora non era stato fatto, una caratteristica espressione paolina sul suo sfondo storico-religioso proprio. In questo modo egli ci permette di coglierne pienamente la portata innovatrice sulla base del tipico evangelo dell'Apostolo dei Gentili.

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NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

IN MEMORIAM

P. Fritzleo Lentzen-Deis SJ

Nach kurzer, schwerer Krankheit verstarb am 29. März 1993 in Koblenz, P. Fritzleo Lentzen-Deis, S.J., Professor für Exegese des Neuen Testaments an der Philosophisch-Theologischen Hochschule Sankt Georgen, Frankfurt am Main, eingeladener Professor des Päpstlichen Bibelinstituts zu Rom, und Mitglied des Redaktionsstabs von *Biblica*.

P. Lentzen-Deis war am 15. März 1928 in Bernkastel-Kues geboren. Seit 1966 lehrte P. Lentzen-Deis am Päpstlichen Bibelinstitut in Rom, seit 1967 an der Philosophisch-Theologischen Hochschule Sankt Georgen Frankfurt am Main Exegese des Neuen Testaments und Judaistik. Seine Dissertation "Die Taufe Jesu bei den Synoptikern" erschien 1970 als Nr. 4 der Reihe "Frankfurter Theologische Studien" im Verlag Josef Knecht Frankfurt am Main. 1973 wurde P. Lentzen-Deis von der Hochschule Sankt Georgen habilitiert und noch im gleichen Jahr als ordentlicher Professor berufen. Bis 1987 lehrte P. Lentzen-Deis abwechselnd an der Hochschule Sankt Georgen und am Päpstlichen Bibelinstitut in Rom, seit 1987 nur noch in Rom, bei Beibehaltung seiner Professur in Frankfurt.

Der Forschungsschwerpunkt von F. Lentzen-Deis lag zunächst im Bereich der synoptischen Evangelien und ihres religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrunds, vor allem im zeitgenössischen Judentum. Im Laufe der Zeit verschob sich jedoch sein Interesse in Richtung einer interkulturellen Exegese, vor allem durch den engen Kontakt mit seinen Schülern aus außer-europäischen Ländern. Daraus erwuchs ein "Projekt Interkulturelle Exegese", dem die letzten zehn Jahre seines Lebens gehörten. Erste Früchte dieses Projektes waren ein Einführungsband "Avances metodológicos de la exégesis para la praxis de hoy", der 1990 in Bogotá erschien, und ein text-pragmatischer Markuskommentar im Horizont vor allem der lateinamerikanischen Situation, dessen Fertigstellung F. Lentzen-Deis noch erleben konnte. P. Lentzen-Deis ertrug die ihm auferlegte schwere Krankheit mit großer Geduld. Die Hochschule Sankt Georgen und das Päpstliche Bibelinstitut in Rom verlieren in ihm einen geistig lebendigen und liebenswürdigen Kollegen, seine zahlreichen Schüler einen unersetzbaren Ratgeber.

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